7/7/26

The Christian East

A QUARTERLY REVIEW DEVOTED TO THE STUDY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

EDITED BY THE
REV. CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, B.D., Ph.D.,
AND THE REV. R. M. FRENCH, M.A.

JUNE, 1926.

Vol. VII. No. 2. 1s. 6d.

PUBLISHED FOR
THE ANGLICAN & EASTERN CHURCHES ASSOCN.
BY
THE FAITH PRESS, LTD.,
At THE FAITH HOUSE, 7a, Tufton Street, Ashley Gate, W.C.1.
1/6 per copy, 6s. a year post free. U.S.A. and Canada post free, $1.60, a year post free.

CONTENTS.

FRONTISPIECE.—The Leaders of the Third Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE SERBIAN CHURCH.—By The Bishop of Gloucester ... 49

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE 55

THE THIRD ANGLO-CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE.—By the Rev. G. N. Whittingham 56

RESERVATION IN THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH.—By Canon J. A. Douglas, Ph.D. ... 86

Mosul and Its Minorities

By H. C. LUKE (1900-24, Asist.-Gov. of Jerusalem), author of "The Fringe of the East." Illustrated with many reproductions of photographs and 3 maps.

Demy 8vo. Cloth. 10s. 6d. net.

"Mr. Luke's book is a mine of interesting information accessible for the most part only in languages little known in this country. . . . It is full of strange lore gathered during nearly 20 years of observant travel and administrative experience in Western Asia."
—*The Times.*

MARTIN HOPKINSON & Co., Ltd., 14, Hanover St., LONDON, W.1.

[*Photo by Raad, Jerusalem.*

THE RT. REVD. THE LORD BISHOP OF PLYMOUTH, PRESIDENT OF THE THIRD OFFICIAL ANGLO-CATHOLIC CONGRESS PILGRIMAGE, WITH THE REVERENDS ARNOLD PINCHARD AND G. NAPIER WHITTINGHAM.

The Christian East

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE SERBIAN CHURCH

BY THE RT. REV. A. C. HEADLAM, D.D., BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

I am glad to have an opportunity of giving some account of the visit I recently paid to Serbia and the Serbian Church. Perhaps I should say something first about the occasion. Some people, but not all, are aware of what the Church of England did to help the Serbian Theological students during the war. Amongst the large body of boys and young men who joined the Serbian Army in their great retreat over the mountains was the Theological Seminary at Belgrade. They arrived in safety at Corfu, when the Archbishop of Canterbury telegraphed to them an invitation to come to England, and the great body of teachers and students came to this country and were established at Cuddesdon. Many of the older ones, as they finished their Theological course, passed on to Oxford in order to take degrees in the University. As these had been my pupils, and I had had very friendly and pleasant relations with some of them, I had always desired to visit them after they had returned to their own country, and I took the opportunity after Easter this year.

I had expected my visit to be a private one, and was surprised and gratified at the very pleasant reception that I received. Throughout the greater part of our visit we were the guests either of the country or of the Church, or of the students themselves, and I must express great thanks to all for the kindness, the courtesy, and the hospitality with which we were received; especially may I mention Mr. Gastrell, of the Foreign Office, who was deputed to look after us in Belgrade, Gospodin Kosta Luković, a deacon, Secretary to the Patriarch, who had been a graduate of Trinity, Cambridge, who accompanied us throughout the country, and who was a most devoted and interesting companion; also I should like to thank Mr. Sitters, the Superintendent of the Y.M.C.A. in Belgrade, and Mrs. Sitters, for their unfailing assistance and help. The others to whom we were indebted were too numerous to mention.

Our visit included, besides Belgrade, Sremski-Karlovci, in the old

[*Photo by Raad, Jerusalem.*

THE RT. REVD. THE LORD BISHOP OF PLYMOUTH, PRESIDENT OF THE THIRD OFFICIAL ANGLO-CATHOLIC CONGRESS PILGRIMAGE, WITH THE REVEREND ARNOLD PINCHARD AND G. NAPIER WHITTINGHAM.

The Christian East

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE SERBIAN CHURCH.

BY THE RT. REV. A. C. HEADLAM, D.D., BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

I am glad to have an opportunity of giving some account of the visit I recently paid to Serbia and the Serbian Church. Perhaps I should say something first about the occasion. Some people, but not all, are aware of what the Church of England did to help the Serbian Theological students during the war. Amongst the large body of boys and young men who joined the Serbian Army in their great retreat over the mountains was the Theological Seminary at Belgrade. They arrived in safety at Corfu, when the Archbishop of Canterbury telegraphed to them an invitation to come to England, and the great body of teachers and students came to this country and were established at Cuddesdon. Many of the older ones, as they finished their Theological course, passed on to Oxford in order to take degrees in the University. As these had been my pupils, and I had had very friendly and pleasant relations with some of them, I had always desired to visit them after they had returned to their own country, and I took the opportunity after Easter this year.

I had expected my visit to be a private one, and was surprised and gratified at the very pleasant reception that I received. Throughout the greater part of our visit we were the guests either of the country, or of the Church, or of the students themselves, and I must express great thanks to all for the kindness, the courtesy, and the hospitality with which we were received; especially may I mention Mr. Gazivoda, of the Foreign Office, who was deputed to look after us in Belgrade; Gospodin Kosta Luković, a deacon, Secretary to the Patriarch, who had been a graduate of Trinity, Cambridge, who accompanied us throughout the country, and who was a most devoted and interesting companion; also I should like to thank Mr. Sitters, the Superintendent of the Y.M.C.A. in Belgrade, and Mrs. Sitters, for their unfailing assistance and help. The others to whom we were indebted were too numerous to mention.

Our visit included, besides Belgrade, Sremski-Karlovci, in the old

Hungarian territory, the traditional seat of the Patriarchate since the 17th century, and the many interesting monasteries in that neighbourhood—Nish, Skoplje (Uskub), Bitolj (Monastir), and Ohrid, besides a visit to the village of Kosjerić, where Dragoljub Popović, an old Oxford student, is parish priest. Amongst many others I made the acquaintance of the Patriarch, whose hospitality we enjoyed in the Palace at Karlovci, a fine building, an inheritance from the Austrian days.

The present Serbian Patriarch is an old man, highly respected for his character and religious life; very much beloved by the village people in his diocese. He is not, I think, as was reported, reactionary in his views, but he is an old man who does not desire to initiate change, and I venture to think that it was better that the Serbian Church should begin by moving somewhat slowly and not running the risk of unwise reform. We also enjoyed the hospitality of the Bishops of Nish, Bitolj, and Ohrid. The Bishop of Nish (Dosite) presides over the largest and most populous diocese in the country with about a million inhabitants. He is a man of great energy and vivacity and exercises a wide influence throughout his diocese, is an eloquent preacher and a vigorous administrator. I was present at the evening service in his Cathedral at Nish, where there was a large congregation, at which, with the assistance of Mr. Luković, I preached, and then attended him at the town of Pirot on the Bulgarian frontier, where he celebrated the Liturgy and dedicated a war memorial—again, as might be expected, with a very large congregation. The Bishop of Bitolj is Father Joseph, who was head of the Seminary when it was at Cuddesdon. He, like the Bishop of Nish, is full of life and energy, and enjoys the respect of the Christian and Mohammedan population alike in his diocese. The Bishop of Ohrid was well known in England as Father Nikolai Velimirovitch. He has the poorest and most remote diocese in the country. It is 150 miles from the main line of railway, and there he exercises his wonderful influence over a very mixed population of Macedonians, Turks, and Albanians. It seemed to me, as far as I could judge, that the Serbian Bishops in Macedonia were doing their best to help in welding together the difficult population of that district. On Palm Sunday, April 25th, I heard Bishop Nikolai preach to a large and crowded congregation, and on the previous day had accompanied him to the springs of Ohrid, about 1½ miles out of the city, where Children's Day had been celebrated.

My visit to Kosjerići was of great interest, as giving me an insight into the Serbian country parish. I met all the leading officials of the village and had a long talk with them about the state of Serbia and the difference from this country. They were most anxious to have information about England. The work of a Serbian parish priest is, in many ways, a hard one, as so much of the religion is a religion of the

home. The people are attached to their church, and are ready to support it. Their attendance is irregular. On Feast Days the church will be crowded, and every family in the place represented: on ordinary Sundays the congregation may be very small, but the parish priest has to visit every house in connexion with every family event of importance, and particularly in connexion with the Slava Day—the commemoration of the traditional date on which the family became Christian. We were very hospitably and comfortably entertained by Dragoljub Popović and waited upon by his wife and sister. I noticed that there was a little library of tracts for the people in the church, an imitation of what is so often done in England, and he told me that whenever there was a congregation of any size he always preached. The people are all peasant proprietors and work hard. As it was a busy time of the year, they were in the fields from five in the morning to sunset. The women work as hard as the men. Previous to the war they did not plough or do heavy work. During the war they had to do it, and they have kept on the practice. I visited the village school. Education is compulsory, but the laws of compulsion are subordinated to the needs of agriculture, and at this time of the year many of the children were engaged in looking after the flocks of sheep, goats, pigs, and cattle.

Let me speak now of the state of the country. There was no country in Europe which suffered more during the war. It had been depleted of almost all its wealth; there was hardly a railway bridge which had not been destroyed; typhus and other diseases abounded. The material recovery seems to be remarkable, as will always be the case in an agricultural country with a peasant proprietorship. Flocks and herds have been restored, the land is cultivated, and there were everywhere signs of moderate wealth. The railways have been restored and the bridges rebuilt; some new railways have been made and many others are contemplated, and the train service is carried on with some irregularity and no great regard to comfort, but the people were obviously travelling in large numbers, and there were no signs anywhere of poverty or destitution. Almost every village now seems to have its motor car, but the roads are for the most part very bad in old Serbia, and particularly in Belgrade and its neighbourhood. In some cases over the mountains in the south there were good, well-paved roads.

The country was confronted with a very difficult problem after the war. Previous to 1912 it was a small homogeneous people of one race and one Church. The war left it the united country of the Jugo-Slavs, with the addition of Croatia, parts of Dalmatia, Bosnia, Montenegro, and a large part of Macedonia. There has been much controversy between those who demanded a Federal Constitution and those who supported a Central Government, but the Serbians, who represent the strongest section of the people, have insisted upon

the Unified Government. No doubt it means difficulties, friction, hardship in some cases, but I do not doubt that the decision is right, and I believe that the people everywhere are settling down in friendly relations with one another. The political difficulties are probably greater. Part of the new country was the difficult district of Macedonia, through a considerable part of which we travelled, and I have no doubt that it is true to say that that country has never for many centuries enjoyed such a peaceful Government. There has been friction in some places, so I am told; the officials have not always been very conciliatory. There are, of course, two great difficulties: there is the Albanian brigand on the one side who can escape across the frontier to his mountains, and there is the Macedonian patriot on the other side, whose idea of peace is to murder as many people as possible in the supposed interests of either Bulgarian supremacy or Macedonian autonomy. The Komitadjis have, it is hoped, nearly come to an end. The people themselves are determined to enjoy peace, and the habit of confusing insurrection and revolution with progress will gradually die out. Two facts which are, I believe, undoubted, help to show that the Government is on the whole good. Directly the war was over and peace was established, there was a large emigration of the Mohammedan population to Asia Minor; that migration has not only ceased, but those who left have, in many cases, come back with their money lost and sadly disillusioned. They find that the rule of the Christian in Serbia is more favourable to their religion than the rule of the Turk in Anatolia. Moreover, many of those in the Greek territory who bear the name of Bulgarian and are exchanged for Greeks living in Bulgarian territory are anxious to settle not in Bulgaria but in Serbia. In Macedonia there are great plains amongst the mountains—the Kosovo Polje, the great traditional battlefield of Serbia, and the Pelargonian Plain, between Prilep and Bitolj. These until recently were entirely given up to the pasturage of flocks and herds; now new settlements are being made and they are rapidly coming under cultivation. There are, of course, garrisons in every town, and the roads in the more dangerous districts are well patrolled by the Gendarmerie. The impression that one gets is that law and order are being preserved and the agricultural wealth of the country is being developed.

Let me pass to the state of the Church. The Serbian Church found itself faced with much the same problem as the Serbian State. Before 1912 Serbia was a homogeneous Orthodox country, and the adherents of any other religion were a negligible factor. The extension of the country faced it with the problem first of all of making one united Church and then of dealing with a Roman Catholic and Mohammedan population. The Church of Macedonia had been for long a territory in dispute between the Bulgarians and the Greeks; the Church of Bosnia and Herzegovina was subject to

the Patriarch of Constantinople ; the Church of Montenegro was an independent Bishopric ; the Church of Dalmatia was an autonomous Orthodox Church ; the Church of the Hungarian territory was subject to the Patriarch of Karlovci. The first thing that was necessary was to weld these into one united Church, and this has been done. Complaints have been made to me that there had been much controversy and dispute over this. It is difficult to conceive such a process taking place without this controversy. We have only to consider what would have happened in England if we had had the same problem before us, and how irreconcilable would have been the claims put forward by all the different independent Churches. It must be remembered that they had their different systems of Canon law and different customs, and that there was great variety of status, of training and of outlook.

Another problem has been created by the presence of a considerable Roman Catholic population. In Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Herzegovina there is a considerable Catholic population, and a section of the Albanians in Macedonia are also Roman Catholic. Directly after the war the relations of the two Churches were friendly, and the relations of the peoples are still quite friendly, but the attitude of the Roman Clergy has completely changed. They refuse now to have friendly relations and, wherever it is possible, attempt to carry on their usual programme of proselytizing and are causing great bitterness. While the Slovenians are very much in the hands of their priests, there is a strong anti-clerical element in Croatia, and also there is a considerable number of old Catholics. Negotiations have been proceeding for some time with a view to a concordat, but they have not so far been successful. The difficulty arises not so much from any unfriendliness on the part of the Orthodox population and politicians as from the opposition of the Croatians, who are anti-clerical. The two main points upon which difficulties have arisen are : the College of St. Jerome in Rome and the old Catholics. The College of St. Jerome was founded for the benefit of the Slavonic Roman Catholics in Austria, and the Austrian Emperor appointed the Rector. The Jugo-Slav Government makes the same claim, which the Vatican is not willing to concede. The other cause of dispute was, I believe, the treatment of the old Catholics in Croatia. It must be remembered that there are considerable traditions of an anti-Vatican policy in that district, which was the home of Bishop Strossmayer. The Vatican, I believe, demands that the Jugo-Slav Government should refuse to recognize the old Catholics, and that it will not consent to. I should like to add that so far as I was able to judge and was informed these disputes are much more the disputes of politicians and political ecclesiastics, and do not represent dissension amongst the people. The Serbian people are, I think, anxious to live in friendly and kindly relations with their neighbours,

and are not controversial in their habits or intolerant in their nature.

I visited two Theological Seminaries. The Seminary of Belgrade is at present established at Karlovci, and there two of my old pupils, Arsitch and Maritch, are Professors. At Bitolj Bishop Joseph and Bishop Nikolai between them have succeeded in founding a Theological Seminary at which there are over 300 students. There are also, I believe, Seminaries at Prisrend and Cetinje, and it is proposed to found one at Sebenico. There is not, I gather, any great want of candidates for holy orders. The discipline of the Seminaries is severe, and I think the tendency is to overwork the students. The Continental custom of compelling them to learn something of everything and pass an examination in it gives them, of course, a certain training, but also has the effect of depriving them of any great desire to learn anything else for the rest of their lives. Many of the teachers in the Seminaries are Russian refugees, and so are the choirmasters. The Serbians are musical people. Their music, as all who have heard it will know, is attractive and moving and, with the additional advantage of Russian teaching, it should become even better than it has been.

The great problem before the Serbian Church is to adapt itself to completely new conditions. Up till now the duty of the Serbian Church has been to preserve the national tradition and the national religion. Its clergy for long were as much national leaders as religious leaders—more often military leaders as well. Now this side of their work has gone. The national life is centred in the Government, and their work will be in the future entirely of a spiritual character. To adapt oneself to such different conditions is difficult enough. Some of the bishops and clergy are good preachers, and are beginning the work of instruction, but many, of course, have only the traditions of former days. Up till now there has been little demand for intellectual guidance, but continental intellectualism is beginning to influence the country, and again new demands will be made upon them. There is a Theological Faculty in the University at Belgrade in which Father Irene Djorgevitch, one of the Oxford students, is a Professor, but the work of the Church so far has been that of supplying the gaps of the priesthood and of the ordinary education of the priest, and it has not yet been able to turn to the higher University work. That is the problem of all Eastern as of Western Churches at the present time, and if this country could give the Church of Serbia any help in trying to build up the intellectual religious life of its people, it would be help well bestowed.

If I may sum up my impressions—in England we had learned to like the Serbian refugees, and our Serbian pupils. The same feeling which I had always for them in England was corroborated and strengthened by my visit to their country. They are pleasant, kindly hospitable people. They expressed great gratitude for what this

country had done both for their nation and for their Church; they were anxious to repay in some measure the debt that they have incurred; they are enjoying for the first time for many years a period of peace, and the people wish to live at peace with one another and at peace with their neighbours. They have a large well-disciplined army, for the position of Jugo-Slavia will not allow them to trust to a continuance of peaceful relations, but they are not eager to have another war. They want to enjoy the fruits of their victories, and I do not think that it would be the action of Jugo-Slavia that would break the peace of the Balkans. They wish to make friends with Bulgaria; they have concluded treaties with all their neighbours. Certainly every thoughtful person will pray that the storm-clouds of war may not gather together again over this part of the world.

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE

LETTERS from Constantinople point to the almost certain postponement of the Orthodox Pro-Synod at Mount Athos, at least until next year. Thus, at the end of May, only four of the ten autokephalous churches invited had replied; and of these, while three accepted, the Rumanian Church had expressed its inability to do so until 1927.

The two important articles which, together with the engaging and valuable record of the Third Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage, fill exactly our quota of pages, render it impossible for us to say more than a word or two in this issue about the election of the Patriarch Meletios to the throne of Alexandria. We propose to write at our ease in September about that event which in all human probability is likely to prove pregnant with results of the first magnitude not only for the Orthodox Church but for Christendom in general. Here we will only say that none of his many devoted friends can be more thankful than ourselves that the period of the inactivity of this tried worker for Reunion has been brought to an end and that he has been called to an office of such dignity and opportunity as the Patriarchate of 'Alexandria. *Eis polla ete, Despota.*

On June 29, the anniversary of last year's Westminster Abbey Nicæan Commemoration, Canon Douglas is to preach on Reunion at All Saint's, Margaret Street, at 11.30. The Bishop of Gibraltar will be the guest at a luncheon at 1.30 p.m., and the Dean of Salisbury will deliver the inaugural lecture of the Nicæan Commemoration Lectureship at King's College at 3 p.m.—his subject being, "The part played by Eustathios at the First Œcumenical Council."

On the preceding evening, Father Bulgakov and Bishop Benjamin will lecture at Sion College at 5 p.m. under the chairmanship of Lord Hugh Cecil.

AN OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE THIRD ANGLO-CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE, BEING THE GREAT ADVENTURE OF 1926.

"TO-MORROW, Saturday morning, at 7 a.m., I shall say Mass on Calvary. If the pilgrims care to come, let me know in order to arrange that a great portion of the Mass should be said in English and to prepare a short sermon in that language."

Thus the Archbishop of Jordan. The pilgrims gladly availed themselves of the invitation, and, although the greater part of them were absent on an extension to Galilee, the little Chapel of Calvary was full to overflowing. It was a delightful gesture on the part of the Archbishop, and a further proof of the growth of friendship between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches. The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom was sung, and the Archbishop read, as he had promised, some portions of the Mass in English. These included several of the Intercessions, the Gospel, the Nicene Creed, the words of Institution, and the Blessing. As an additional intercession the Archbishop interpolated the Prayer for the Church Militant, and towards the end of the Liturgy gave us a delightful little address in perfect English. "I wish to remind you," he said, "that you are standing on the most sacred spot in Christendom, the Holy Place at which were enacted the final scenes of the Passion, and that beneath this Altar shines the silver disc which covers the place where once the Cross of our Lord was fixed. You are on Golgotha, where countless pilgrims have knelt and prayed, and when you pilgrims return to your distant homes you will recall the joy of this morning and pray for the peace of Jerusalem."

The pilgrims greatly appreciated this privilege, and are not likely to forget the scene of an Orthodox prelate singing Mass on the site of Calvary, with an Anglican Bishop in close proximity. Archbishop Themelis said to me afterwards, "You must ask for this privilege on every pilgrimage, and in a few years' time the whole of the Liturgy may be rendered in English."

I present this little cameo as an introductory to a short article on the third official Anglo-Catholic pilgrimage, for when Anglican and Orthodox can meet together as one body on Calvary, Reunion cannot be far distant.

Once again it may be truly said that we were fortunate in our choice of President. By unanimous approval of the committee Dr. Howard Masterman, Lord Bishop of Plymouth, was chosen, and he, after careful consideration, consented to lead us. We were glad to have the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who wrote: "I am much interested to hear that Dr. Masterman is going with you on your next Eastern Pilgrimage. I am sure that you will find him

Archbishop of Bethlehem & President. Nazareth: Metropolitan on Palm Sunday. Archimandrite at Jaffa.

On the road to Emmaus. President saying Mass at Tiberias.

Nazareth: Metropolitan & President. Prelates at Bethlehem.

THESE PHOTOGRAPHS WERE TAKEN BY PILGRIMS, TO WHOM WE TENDER OUR THANKS.

a stimulating and forceful leader and companion." Dr. Masterman did not disappoint us ; he made himself thoroughly at home from the very beginning, and proved himself to be not only an excellent and dignified President but a pleasant companion to all the pilgrims.

The Primate is kept in touch with the proceedings of each pilgrimage, and although, for obvious reasons, we do not ask for his official approval, he has written several very gracious letters to the Hon. Secretary of the pilgrimage, and an extract of one of these letters may well be quoted :—" What you say about those who are to accompany the pilgrimage this time interests me greatly. I have been looking through your programme, and I think it is very well arranged. Of course, to me, whose journeyings in the Holy Land fifty years ago were always conducted on horse-back, with no wheels anywhere and no speed beyond what the horses could accomplish, it sounds strange to think of the distances which you will cover in a day. The printed summary which you give seems to me to be very well drawn up."

On this occasion the pilgrims sailed from Marseilles in the newest steamship of the Messageries Maritimes, the *Champollion*, so named after a renowned French Egyptologist. Our good friend Captain Piétri, formerly of the s.s. *Sphinx*, met us at Marseilles, and straightway presented us to the Commandant of the *Champollion*, Captain Monod, who from that time became the friend of the pilgrims. Our first thought was accommodation for the services ; there was a delightful little playroom set apart for children, but as there were no children on this voyage Captain Monod handed it over to the pilgrimage committee, and here Masses were said every day, Confessions were heard, pilgrims could pray, and on one occasion Fr. Mather held a Quiet Day, for which there were so many applications that the Chapel could hardly hold the retreatants. Fr. Cornibeer was in entire charge of the devotional side of the pilgrimage, both on board ship and in Palestine, acting as Confessor-in-Chief to the pilgrims and rendering much assistance to everyone who needed it. Evensong was said daily on the " poop," and a short address given ; pilgrims were provided with hymn sheets containing many favourite hymns and including John Bunyan's :

" Who so beset him round
With dismal stories,
Do but themselves confound—
His strength the more is.
No foes shall stay his might,
Though he with giants fight :
He will make good his right
To be a pilgrim."

As we were a smaller party on this occasion, the whole pilgrimage

was accommodated in the second-class dining saloon, and here after dinner lectures were given, followed by Compline, which was said by the President. On one evening Dr. Masterman gave an interesting lecture on the History of the Crusades, on another Fr. Usher talked to us of the work of the Anglican Church in Palestine, and on the evening before we arrived at Jaffa, the Secretary gave an address on " What to see, what to do, and how to behave in Jerusalem."

On the Sunday on board the *Champollion* the Captain gave permission to hold solemn Mass in the Winter Garden. All the pilgrims attended, and a large number of French officers and other passengers. The Captain and the Commissaire were both present, and given places of honour near the Altar. Fr. Leach, Vicar of St. Oswald's, Birmingham, sang the Mass, the President assisting pontifically in cope and mitre, Fr. Usher and the Secretary acting as his Chaplains. The pilgrims who formed the choir sang Merbecke for the Ordinary of the Mass, and favourite hymns were sung in the usual places. After the last Gospel we stood in silence while the " Marseillaise " and " God Save the King " were played. It was indeed a most impressive and dignified service. Fr. Tayler, of St. Matthew's, Westminster, was our musical director throughout the pilgrimage, and the pilgrims owe him a debt of gratitude for the diligent care and trouble he took in the reverent and devotional rendering of the hymns and the music of the Mass. A special Bidding Prayer was drawn up by the Committee and approved by the Bishop for this occasion as follows :—

> Ye shall pray for the good estate of the Church in Alexandria and for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on those who are called to choose a Patriarch.
>
> Ye shall pray for the good estate of the Orthodox Churches of the East, and for the reunion of Christendom.
>
> Ye shall pray for all persecuted Christians in the Near East and in Russia, especially for the Metropolitan Peter now imprisoned.
>
> Ye shall give thanks to Almighty God for the glorious example of the martyrs of the Eastern Churches in the recent persecutions in Russia and Asia Minor.
>
> Ye shall pray for the President of this pilgrimage and for all the pilgrims.
>
> Ye shall pray for the peace of the world.
>
> And among the faithful departed ye shall pray especially for the soul of Sister Fisher, a former pilgrim, and for all who laid down their lives under the British and French flags, on or in the neighbourhood of the sea on which we are now sailing; on whose souls, and on the souls of all the Faithful departed, may God have mercy.

Later in the day we arrived at Alexandria, and it was with much

disappointment that we heard that Dr. Gwynne, Bishop of Egypt and the Sudan, was unable to welcome us owing to an engagement in Cairo. The pilgrims attended evensong at St. Mark's Anglican Church, where the sermon was preached by Fr. Pinchard. Early the next morning we drove to the Orthodox Church, where we were received with much ceremony by Archbishop Theophanes, the *locum tenens* of the Patriarchate, the Archimandrite Constantine, Secretary of the Patriarchate and the other clergy. After the Archbishop had saluted our President and placed him on the throne on his right, Dr. Masterman read the address drawn up by Canon Douglas and published in the March number of *Christian East*. In reply the Archbishop of Tripoli expressed his joy at receiving the pilgrims once again, wished them a prosperous visit to the Holy Land, and hoped that the day would not be long before the two Churches were united. After the ceremony was over some of us had a private interview with Mgr. Theophanes, who then asked the Bishop of Plymouth to put in writing the substance of the conversation. On our return visit to Alexandria, rather more than a fortnight later, we read the Bishop's letter in the *Egyptian Gazette*, in which it had been published by the Secretary of the Patriarchate. As it contains the substance of our interview with Mgr. Theophanes, and as by the time these words appear in print the new Patriarch will probably have been elected, it may be of future interest to give the letter in full :—

Alexandria, April 12, 1926.

My dear Archbishop,

I have the honour to repeat to Your Lordship all that I had the exceptional pleasure to tell you during our conversation of to-day. We are informed that a rumour is current to the effect that the leaders of our Church have endeavoured to exert influence over the election of the Patriarch of Alexandria. We are in a position to assure Your Lordship that this rumour is altogether unfounded, and has greatly afflicted our Venerable Archbishop, whose only desire is to hold out the right hand of fraternity to whoever will occupy this highest dignity.

We have prayed, and we shall continue praying, so that the Holy Spirit guide those who will elect the Patriarch, and we fervently hope that no mischievous influence will prejudice the friendship which we feel increasing between the two Churches. We are also informed that you have been troubled by certain people who pretend that we aspire to the union with the Latin Church, rather than with the Holy Orthodox Church. We assure Your Lordship that such statements do not at all represent the general opinion of those on behalf of whom we claim to speak. We pray for the visible unity of all the Churches with the help of God. Such being the case, our exertions aim specially at the communion with the Holy Orthodox

Church. We thank God for the *rapprochement* effected between the Anglican and the Orthodox Eastern Church during the last years, because we hold that either contributes somewhat to the perfection of the life of the other. Anglo-Catholics will not in any way participate in any course of action tending to prejudice or delay the full communion towards which God guides us.

Assuring Your Lordship of our great respect and of our sincere gratitude for the very kind reception accorded by you to our pilgrims, I remain Dear Archbishop

Yours in Jesus Christ,
✣ JOHN HOWARD,
Bishop of Plymouth.

In justice to our Bishop I would add that the letter was translated into Greek and afterwards retranslated into English.

Visits were then paid to the Coptic and Armenian Churches, where special services of welcome were held, and in each case the Bishop was asked to bless the people. Later, the President entertained representatives of the Anglican and Eastern Churches to lunch at the Hotel Majestic, and a spirit of great friendliness prevailed.

Early the following morning, in brilliant sunshine, we sighted the picturesque terraces of the ancient Joppa, and, the sea being fairly calm, the pilgrims were able to disembark in comfort. On reaching the landing stage, we knelt in joyful thanksgiving, and said an *Our Father*. The Reverend Charles Steer, Chaplain of St. George's Cathedral, Jerusalem, met us with other Anglican representatives, as did also Archimandrite Constantine, of the local Orthodox Church. Up the steep steps and on to the terrace above, and then we found ourselves once again inside the little Greek Church beloved by pilgrims, where a short service of welcome was held, and our Bishop offered prayers of thanksgiving and petitions for unity, standing in front of the Ikonastasis.

Then with a thrill of expectancy most of the pilgrims hastened to the train that was to take them to the Holy City, while others did the journey by motor car. Never before have we had such a gathering of Eastern clerics to meet us on our arrival in Jerusalem. There was our good friend, the Archbishop of Jordan, representing the Patriarch of Jerusalem; the Archimandrite Cyril, representing Mgr. Tourian, the Armenian Patriarch; a Russian priest, representing Archbishop Anastassy, Bishop Antou of the Syrian-Jacobite Church, a Coptic Priest, representing the Abbot of the Coptic Church, who is now a Bishop; and Fr. Bridgeman, representing the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem. It was a goodly company indeed! To our old place, conveniently situate below the hill of Evil Counsel, we walked in solemn procession, the pilgrim choir singing the gradual psalms, followed by the hymn, "Jerusalem the Golden." Prayers of

thanksgiving were said, and then our President blessed us in English, and the Archbishop of Jordan in Greek. Before us on our right was Mount Syon, beneath us the Cedron, and across the valley the Mount of Olives—the pilgrims' first view. " Our feet *shall* stand in thy gates, O Jerusalem ! "

But even pilgrims must unpack and must rest, and so we adjourn to our *logements* until the Archbishop of Jordan calls for us in the early afternoon to conduct us to the Church, which all pilgrims must acknowledge as Christendom's most Holy Place—the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Punctually at 3 p.m. the pilgrims foregather at the Grand New Hotel, and, headed by the Archbishop of Jordan, the Bishop of Plymouth and his Chaplains, the clergy in academic dress, the slow and stately procession wends its way through the ancient streets and down the Beggars' Steps into the Courtyard of the Holy Sepulchre. Here we are met by the Archimandrite Kyriakos, who, with the Archbishop of Jordan, conducted us into the Church and, after prostrations at the Stone of Anointing, the pilgrims gather round the entrance to the Holy Tomb.

At this moment the magnificent bells of the Crusaders' Tower clang out their joyous welcome with barbaric gaiety, and when they are silent the Archimandrite greets the pilgrims with the following words :

" Bishop, Faithful Pilgrims,

The Holy Mother of Churches, Jerusalem, first and most ancient of all Churches, feels very glad to receive again this year, with full love and sympathy, in this most historical and revered Church of the Holy Anastasis, the third Anglican pilgrimage, pious and devoted, coming from the God-preserved and glorious Empire of Great Britain. With God's protection, faithful pilgrims, you have safely arrived here in this most holy cradle of the Christian Faith, and the Mother of the Churches is very pleased to lead you in the Holy Sepulchre, where is the divine Tomb, in which the most Holy Body of the Saviour of the World was entombed and whence He rose, granting Salvation to man, sanctifying all those who believe in Him and granting eternal life to them.

" You are happy, dear brethren, because you have been blessed by God to achieve a sacred duty to every Christian, the duty of visiting the Holy Land, out of which dawned the light of knowledge and enlightened all the world. You must consider yourselves happy, because to-day you realize your sacred wish, which eagerly enflamed your noble hearts. You must consider yourselves happy even, because, coming to the Holy Tomb of our Jesus with affected hearts, you will be filled with benediction and grace which springs forth and overflows from this extraordinary rock, and whose benediction will be a precious and encouraging *viaticum* for all your life.

"On behalf of the most Reverend Leader of the Mother of Churches, His Beatitude the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Monsignor Damianos, I greet you and welcome you, pious and brave children of the sister Anglican Church, with which we unite happily in close bands of sincere sympathy: I pray heartily our Saviour Jesus Christ, at the Name of Whom 'every knee should bow in heaven, and on earth and beneath the earth,' that He may safeguard you and protect you unaffected by every harm and strengthen you in the paternal faith and virtue, granting to all of you His Divine gifts. Amen.

ARCHIMANDRITE KYRIAKOS."

* * * * * * * *

The President then entered and venerated the Holy Tomb. He was followed by the clergy and then by the lay pilgrims, and when this devotion was finished the pilgrims were led in parties to the Chapel of Calvary. Under the Altar of the 12th Station, the Crucifixion, we kissed the silver disc which marks the place of Crucifixion, and one by one the pilgrims came up, knelt and prayed, on this the most sacred spot in Christendom, for the peace of the Church and for the peace of the world. But we could not remain long, for the daily Franciscan procession to the holy sites was almost due, so the Archbishop took us to the Convent of St. Abraham, and showed the pilgrims where the Patriarch allows Anglican priests to say Mass, Mgr. Themelis reminding us that this Chapel adjoined Calvary, so that every priest may know that when he celebrates here he stands close to the very place where our Lord was crucified. Permission for this privilege must always be requested, and shortly before leaving England the Archbishop of Jordan on behalf of the Patriarch wrote me that "the Chapel of Abraham will be at your disposal." As Anglicans, we are under the jurisdiction of the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem; so, naturally, his approval is also asked, and he wrote:—"I shall be very glad to make the usual arrangements for you in the Chapel of St. Abraham." Then, still with the Archbishop as our guide, we visited the Russian Church adjoining the Holy Sepulchre, where remains of the second wall, viz., the city wall at the time of Christ, may be seen, and also the remains of the great Basilica of Constantine. Close to Calvary two Churches were founded by Constantine, that of the Holy Sepulchre and the Basilica of the Holy Cross. The atrium of this latter, with the bases of its columns, still remains, and there are also remnants of walls and a gateway belonging to the Basilica in this Russian building.

This evening Dr. MacInnes came to dine with us at the hotel, and made an excellent speech of welcome to the pilgrims. Afterwards he met the Committee and very kindly promised to give us all the assistance in his power, including the necessary arrangements for our ceremonial visits. Of the permanent Committee only the

Revds. Arnold Pinchard, A. E. Cornibeer and the Secretary were able to take part in the pilgrimage, but the following were co-opted for present purposes, viz., the Revds. H. Mather, Philip Usher, W. H. Tayler, and Sir Hubert Miller, Bart.

It was my privilege to say the first Mass on our first morning in Jerusalem at 5 a.m. The Holy Sepulchre is at its best at that early hour. The sun is just rising and, looking down from the convent terrace on to the Courtyard below, we can see the native women arrive and watch the myriads of swallows flying round and round the glorious Crusader's Tower and the south-west front of the Church, and the words of the psalmist come to our minds :—" The sparrow hath found her an house, and the swallow a nest where she may lay her young : even Thy Altars, O Lord of Hosts, my King and my God."

As we walk along the corridor to the Chapel of St. Abraham we pass a small Greek Church, and through the window can see that Mass is already being said. An ancient Russian nun looks after our needs, lights the lamps and candles, places charcoal and incense in the censer, and puts out the vestments. We cannot talk her language, but make ourselves understood by signs. Pilgrims arrive, and Mass begins. On this first morning most are anxious to come early. Fr. Cornibeer serves my Mass and then I serve his Mass at 5.30 a.m. Afterwards we enter the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to say our thanksgivings. Several Latin Masses are in progress, and the Copts are singing their liturgy in the little Chapel that adjoins the Holy Tomb.

Our visit to Bethlehem did not differ from previous visits on these occasions. But on our arrival in the great courtyard of the Basilica, while waiting for the rest of the pilgrims to arrive and form into line, we saw a procession of what looked like Orthodox clergy issuing from the great Church, and we were about to go forward and greet them when we discovered that they were accompanied by several Franciscans. It was a company of Greek Uniats, headed by the Bishop of Beyrout, and beyond a friendly stare they took no notice of us whatever.

Then came Gregorios, Bethlehem's titular Archbishop, whose designation is really Archbishop of Hierapolis, to welcome us as an old friend, surrounded by his clergy, together with Mgr. Themelis and the Archimandrite Kyriakos. With great joy we enter the famous Basilica once again, and so down the broken steps to the Grotto where Christ was born and laid in a manger. Then Gregorios puts on his vestments and begins the service of welcome to the pilgrims. When this is over the President kneels and kisses the famous silver star, the priests follow after him, and then the rest of the pilgrims one by one, for we have the whole morning before us. Before we leave the Basilica our Archimandrite reads an address of

welcome in excellent English, and then we file out into the sun-bathed courtyard of the Convent, and the pilgrims sing " O come, all ye faithful," " Once in Royal David's City," followed by the recitation of the Nicene Creed, omitting the *Filioque* clause.

To most of the pilgrims it is a first visit, and so we climb up the steep stairs to the roof of the Convent, and looking towards the " Field of the Shepherds " we sing " While Shepherds watched their flocks by night." Nothing gives the Orthodox clergy greater pleasure than to hear English hymns—and Fr. Tayler sees to it that we sing them tunefully and in strict time.

A few days later some eight pilgrims were invited to spend a night at the Bethlehem Convent, Mgr. Themelis and Fr. Kyriakos accompanying us from Jerusalem. We visited the Field of the Shepherds and saw the foundations of Constantine's Basilica over the Shepherds' Grotto. The view was superb and the colours at their very best. It was my first visit, and I did not mind the admission when I discovered that one of the Orthodox clergy had not been there before. Archbishop Gregorios gave us a hearty welcome to the Convent, and gracious hospitality, and after dinner, from the Convent terrace we saw the whole of the little town bathed in moonlight, and thought of those words—

> " O little town of Bethlehem,
> How still we see thee lie ! "

Early next morning we all heard Mass in the Grotto of the Nativity, which was filled with Bethlehem peasants, the Mass being said by the village priest and greatly shortened for our benefit ; then we returned to breakfast in the garden under the shade of an apricot tree, for although the hour was still early the sun was shining with much power. Before we returned to Jerusalem we went into the schools, where the children were already assembled, although it was only 7.30 a.m., and heard them read in English and sing " God Save the King." And so, after many salutations to the genial Archbishop and his clergy, we drove back to the Holy City, grateful indeed for the precious privilege of our visit, and full of memories not likely to be forgotten.

The Latins have not been unfriendly to us on this pilgrimage, although the Franciscans at Bethlehem made their annual protest that we came in ecclesiastical (*sic*) garments, and therefore it was a ceremonial visit, that we were not Orthodox, and therefore the Greeks had no right to invite us. To which Mgr. Gregorios, a prelate with a pretty wit, replied that he knew nothing about our garments, but he could assure them that we were most certainly Orthodox. The Latin Patriarch has been absent for some months, and no one seems quite sure as to when he will return. According to the New York *Sun* he is in America " to establish in this country chapters of

the Order of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. Knighthood is only bestowed on those who perform some great service for the Church." I do not wish to be unkind, but I shall not be greatly surprised if his Beatitude is not inundated with applications for this Knighthood! Meanwhile, an Apostolic Vicar, Fr. Pascal Robinson, has been sent to Jerusalem by the Vatican for diplomatic reasons, and has made himself very popular with all and sundry religious leaders. It was suggested to the President that we should make a friendly call, and with this object in view we visited the Convent of the Flagellation, where he was in residence. Unfortunately he was away from the city, and when he, with much courtesy, returned our call, we were at Bethlehem. That charming Dominican, Père Vincent, a man of great learning and with a knowledge of Jerusalem and its monuments probably unequalled in the city, paid me a visit one morning and gave me much information that was up-to-date, and was much pleased when I reminded him that on my first visit, now six years ago, I looked upon him as my guide, philosopher and friend, and described him in my book as the *fons originis* of all I did and all I saw, for he furnished me with many useful introductions that I could not otherwise have obtained. One can safely say that on this pilgrimage we were greeted with friendliness on all sides.

His Excellency, the High Commissioner, Lord Plumer, was most kind to the pilgrims, and held a special reception for us at the Residency on the Mount of Olives. This building, a hideous eyesore, was, as everyone knows, built by the Kaiser as a great hostel, and is German property now rented by the British authorities in Palestine. It will shortly be returned to the Germans and Lord and Lady Plumer must find another home.

Early in the afternoon of the second pilgrimage day all the pilgrims visited the beautiful cemetery on Mount Scopus, where hundreds of British officers and men who fell in Palestine lie buried. The President in purple cassock took up his position by the great Cross of Sacrifice, surrounded by his clergy, and a short but very impressive service was held. " De Profundis " and " Blessed be the Lord God of Israel " were sung, prayers were said, and then the hymn—

" Think, O Lord, in mercy
On the souls of those,
Who in faith gone from us,
Now in death repose."

The Bishop gave his blessing, and this memorable little service was over. The High Commissioner, his aide-de-camp, and the ladies of his household were present. His Excellency expressed his appreciation of the service, and said that he hoped similar functions would be held whenever pilgrims visited the Holy City.

From the cemetery the whole pilgrimage drove to the Russian

Convent Church on the Mount of Olives, and paid a ceremonial visit to Archbishop Anastassy, who gave us a right royal welcome with a special service made all the more beautiful by the plaintive singing of the Russian nuns. After the service the President read the address, already published in *The Christian East*, and then Archbishop Anastassy replied in Russian, which was duly done into English by a youthful and charming sub-deacon named Michael. It reads as follows :—

Your Lordship, Most Reverend Fathers, and all of you pious Pilgrims,

It is not easy for us to find words of gratitude to correspond to the eloquence of your sincere Christian love expressed in your address. The mouth can speak with such a strength only from the abundance of the heart, which in truth is enlarged for us : it embraces not only us Russians living here in the Holy Land, but all our suffering Holy Russia, and even those of her sons who, to our great affliction and grief, have left this world, but are to us still living in Christ.

Our heart is deeply touched by your admiring remembrance of the Great Confessor of the Russian Church, the Patriarch Tikhon, who has entered this day according to your beautiful expression, together with others of his loyal flock who were greatly afflicted, into a triumphant rest.

Divine Providence takes advantage of the very misfortunes of our rebellious time in order to bring us Christians into closer contact. We Russian Bishops could not have been able to learn so well about the interior life of the Anglican Church but that our lamentable dispersion placed us in immediate intercourse with it.

Our beloved brothers in Christ, the Metropolitans Antony and Evlogie, who recently attended the Nicæan jubilee solemnities in London, and I, who had the pleasure of being there a year before, have deeply felt the spiritual ties and relationships that bind us to the English Bishops, clergy, and faithful laity. We found there more than a mere expression of brotherly attitude towards us.

We felt in the Anglican Church the breathing of that Catholic principle, which had always been alive in its secret bosom in spite of the great historical commotions which have been outlived by it, and which manifests itself clearly in these days in that so-called Anglo-Catholic Movement that was started in the beginning of the last century at Oxford University. This mighty leaven will gradually modify the whole body of the Anglican Church, and bring back its teaching, discipline, and divine service to the spirit of the Ancient Apostolic Œcumenical Church; it encourages the soul of the Anglican Church, gives it life, makes it active, and draws it towards union with the Orthodox Church.

We should be extremely glad to greet you according to your words in an emancipated and a renovated Russia coming to pay honour to her sacred relics, but before that desired day can come, we greet

you with pleasure on this sacred Mount of Olives, which is beloved by all Russian pilgrims, and where you to-day compensate us for their absence, for you are inspired by the same high emotions which they brought with them.

From the top of this Holy Mountain Jesus Christ triumphantly entered into Jerusalem, on the eve of His sufferings; from here, too, He ascended in glory to Heaven, leaving to us a joyous promise, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." We find heart here to pray the Heavenly Pilot to hasten the realization of that time, and through the intercourse of love to lead us to an indivisible unity of faith, to accomplish the fullness of His Church, and to let all of us be one in Jesus Christ our Redeemer.

Permit us to end our greeting with the words of the Psalm, which once the crowd enthusiastically sang at the sight of the Lord's march to Jerusalem, and which up to this day resounds on this sacred Mount, "Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord."

✢ ARCHBISHOP ANASTASSY.

The good Archbishop was greatly disappointed that we could not remain to take tea with him (he was quite prepared to entertain the whole body of pilgrims), but having much to do on this second day of pilgrimage, we promised to visit him again later on. The pilgrims were delighted with the superb view from the Russian Convent, the atmosphere was fairly clear, and the Dead Sea appeared to be within a few miles, whereas it must have been at least 3,500 feet below us. Beyond rose the distant mountains of Moab, looking blue in the haze that covered them; towards the south-east was the road to Jericho, to the left the village of Bethany, whilst far in the distance to the south could be seen the "Frank" Mountain, with the heights of Bethlehem and Tirkoah. The ground all around is strewn with crimson anemones (these *are* the advantages of an earlier pilgrimage)—the almond tree gives out its blossoms, and the fig-tree its tender leaves. It is all very beautiful, and so was the pleasant though steep descent by the Church of the Paternoster to the traditional site of the *Dominus flevit*, where it is said that the Lord wept over the city, and so to the foot of Mount Olivet and into the Garden of Gethsemane. The Franciscans have now built a handsome Basilica over the traditional site of the Grotto of the Agony, where our Lord knelt apart on the night in which He was betrayed, the actual stone being now in front of the altar, but the Church does undoubtedly dwarf the Garden, which is only just saved from looking like a modern Italian garden by the presence of the ancient and gnarled old olive trees. By these trees the pilgrims knelt and prayed, the while the courteous Franciscan in charge plucked various flowers as a friendly offering to the Bishop. On leaving the Garden

the pilgrims paid their devotions at the little Church of the Tomb of our Lady close by, said to be the most ancient church in Palestine.

One morning I heard Mass in four different languages. After my English Mass in the Chapel of St. Abraham, a Welsh pilgrim-priest celebrated in his native tongue, then to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for part of the Coptic Mass, at the conclusion of which the priest distributed *pain bénit* and sprinkled his congregation with rose water, so that, as the Coptic Bishop told me later, the people might smell the fragrant perfume and thus know that they had been to Mass. Then to the Chapel of Calvary, where the Latins were celebrating High Mass, and a young friar was professed. They were singing *Missa de Angelis* quite nicely, in spite of nasal voices and a wheezing harmonium.

On this same morning we paid ceremonial calls on the various heads of the Eastern Churches. The Bishop in Jerusalem kindly sent his *cavass*, who, with heavy silver staff, kept the course clear for our procession. The President with his Chaplains led the way, and he was accompanied by most of the priest-pilgrims in full academics. Our first visit was to Mgr. Tourain, the Armenian Patriarch, who fortunately speaks French fluently. He was obviously glad to see us again, and gave us a very hearty welcome. When the President had read the address drawn up by Canon Douglas and already published in *The Christian East*, he conversed freely with us, and expressed his joy at welcoming the pilgrimage for the third time; especially was he grateful for our continued sympathy with and help given to the suffering Armenian refugees. From the Armenian Patriarch we proceeded to the " House of John Mark," the Syrian-Jacobite headquarters. It was with great pleasure that we greeted Bishop Antou once again. Some of us had met him last year in Stockholm, and he always expects an annual visit from the pilgrims during their stay in the Holy City. In the Bishop's house we found the Syrian Patriarch, who was on a visit to Jerusalem. He is a handsome man and reigns over a Patriarchate, so he told us, greater than the size of Europe. The Anglican Bishop's secretary was with us on these visits, and acted as interpreter throughout. The next visit was to the Coptic Abbot, who since last year has become a Bishop, and then to our dark friends the Abyssinians, whose Bishop, recently elected, is quite youthful and very friendly. Fortunately there is now a layman attached to the Abyssinians who speaks English, and thus conversation was not so difficult as in former years.

The Anglican Bishop held a reception for the pilgrims, as usual, on the Saturday afternoon, and invited the heads of various Churches to meet us. On this occasion I had a long talk with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, with the aid of Mr. Said, his major-domo, who acted as interpreter. He spoke of his experiences in England with much

pleasure, of his sorrow at the death of Patriarch Photios, who, he said, was only slightly younger than himself, of his affection for our Primate and the Bishop of London, and regretted very much indeed that Canon Douglas was not of our number. Then he told me of the Patriarchate troubles connected with the Commission; of this he spoke very fully, and seemed anxious that it should be known that the Patriarchate was anxious to help the Commission in any way that did not involve its humiliation. Later on Mr. Said came to see me at the Patriarch's wish about the differences between him and the Colonial Office in the matter of selling property towards the payment of a debt which now amounted to £45,000. Up to the beginning of the War accounts balanced, but since that date, owing to the lack of pilgrims, the Patriarchate had suffered great losses. Therefore a Commission was appointed and accepted by the Patriarch, but there had been constant friction between members of the Commission and His Beatitude, which seems to have been caused by the action of a junior official who has since been removed, and therefore matters were likely to be smoother in the future. Things have also been made less difficult by the appointment of Lord Plumer as High Commissioner in the place of Sir Herbert Samuel. The former is absolutely impartial, and neither assists nor opposes the Patriarchate, whereas Sir Herbert Samuel was bent on playing into the hands of the Zionists. However, most of the lands of the Patriarchate, always excepting those of religious or historical value, have been sold. To sum up, the Patriarch is co-operating with the present Commission out of respect for the senior personnel under a new presidency, though he refuses to recognize the Ordinance.

En passant, the mention of Lord Plumer's name recalls to my mind a very prevalent rumour in Jerusalem, which let us trust is not true, namely, that the present High Commissioner will not remain long at his post, possibly two years at the utmost, in order to regulate matters, and then Sir Alfred Mond will be called in to succeed him. This is confidently believed by the Zionists—Heaven grant it may not be true! There are some burdens that not even the long-suffering and much-enduring Arab will bear!

To return to the Bishop's garden party, I had a long and interesting talk on the general religious situation in England with the Armenian Patriarch and Archbishop Anastassy. They were greatly interested, and one was able to note how much more friendly the heads of the Eastern Church have become year by year. After a photograph had been taken of a very representative group of Orthodox and Anglican prelates and priests—the Bishop of Jerusalem in the centre, with the Patriarch on his right, and the Bishop of Plymouth on his left—Dr. MacInnes greatly interested the pilgrims by showing them his wonderful collection of treasures, and then explaining their meaning.

The following morning, Good Shepherd Sunday, many Masses

were said by pilgrim-priests in the Chapel of St. Abraham and St. George's Cathedral. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre presented a wonderful sight in these early hours, all sorts of types and conditions of people worshipping at their different altars, several squatting—I can use no other word—on the floor, looking very much at home and with a complete absence of self-consciousness. The Patriarch was pontificating at the Solemn Liturgy in the Greek Catholikon—it was the Orthodox Passion Sunday—and on his departure the bells of the Crusaders' Tower rang out in their customary barbaric but altogether delightful manner.

Later in the morning the pilgrims attended High Mass at St. George's, the Cathedral clergy officiating, the musical portions of the service being sung by the pilgrim choir under the direction of Fr. Tayler, the Bishop of Jerusalem and the Bishop of Plymouth being vested in cope and mitre. The service was preceded by a short and excellent sermon from our President, who gave a very lucid explanation of the *raison d'être* of our pilgrimage.

Preaching from the text, " What mean ye by this service," he said that this was the third time that a body of Anglo-Catholic pilgrims had come to offer their devotions at the Holy Places. Who were these pilgrims? They were a body of men and women who had seen the vision that they believed our Lord had seen in this city of Jerusalem ; the vision of a world-wide society, one, not only in inner sympathy, but openly, manifestly, one Catholic and Apostolic Church. It was to further this unity that our pilgrims come year after year. And every year we grow more conscious of the warmth and sincerity of the welcome that is offered to us by the great Churches of the East. We bring no rich gifts such as the Wise Men brought to the home at Bethlehem, but we bring our greetings and our prayers. We bring our greetings—the greetings of many thousands of Christian men and women for whom we speak. We know that the official leaders of the Churches have to move cautiously, for many misunderstandings have to be cleared out of the way. But just because we are an unofficial body we can speak and act more freely, when we tell our brethren of the Eastern Churches that there is a great company of men and women who are prepared to give much and risk much for the fulfilment of our Lord's high-priestly prayer.

And we bring our prayers. We have come here to learn how to pray better ; to learn how to understand better the mind of Jesus Christ as we offer our devotions in the places where He lived, and prayed and suffered. For we believe that the key to reunion is here—in Jerusalem, Olivet, Bethlehem, Nazareth. In deeper devotion to Jesus Christ we shall find a force strong enough to sweep away all barriers of isolation and misunderstanding, and make us one in the sacramental fellowship of His Cross and Passion.

After Mass several of us lunched with Lord Plumer, and then drove

to that delightful and most picturesque of all villages, Ain Karim, the birthplace of St. John Baptist, and the scene of the Visitation of our Lady to St. Elizabeth, to pay a visit to that wonderful lady, Miss Carey, who has a House of Rest in this charming spot, where she delights to welcome pilgrims. Many of our pilgrims visited her on this Sunday afternoon, and many teas were provided. But the President, Fr. Cornibeer, Fr. Tayler, and I were due at Archbishop Anastassy's Convent near by ; he had come from Jerusalem to receive us, and prepared a very sumptuous tea *à la russe* in our honour. And while we drank his tea, all quietly there entered some Russian nuns, who sang to us as only those trained women can sing, pathetic and entrancing. Michael was there also, and we kept him busy at his translations, which he seemed thoroughly to enjoy.

The following day saw the last features of organized arrangements for the pilgrims. We began the day with Corporate Communion at St. George's at 6 a.m., the Bishop of Jerusalem officiating, and practically all the pilgrims made their Communions. This morning the Patriarch received the pilgrims, having been unable to do so before owing to slight indisposition. As a matter of fact His Beatitude looked very tired, and therefore the ceremony was cut somewhat short. We walked in solemn procession from the hotel, headed by the Patriarchate and the Anglican Bishop's *cavass*, and the Patriarch received us *more solito* in the great salon. After presenting our President, the Patriarch said a few words of welcome, mentioning the fact that he received us " as Orthodox pilgrims," and he was altogether very gracious. Dr. Masterman then read our address of respect to His Beatitude (see *The Christian East*, March, 1926), who then made reply as follows :—

Most Reverend and Beloved Brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ,
Faithful Pilgrims,

It is a pleasure to us to welcome you in the country which God from the outset loved, and which was sanctified and glorified by the life, teachings, and miracles of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

The British nation is entitled to be proud of the marvellous civilization by which they illuminate the world, but this glorious nation can rather boast for the deep piety by which it is adorned, and which is the only source and true cause of its grandeur and magnificence.

We have a striking evidence of this piety in your yearly pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which on one hand strengthens your devoutness, and on the other supplies you with great spiritual benefits, and through you to all your grand and blessed fatherland.

We beg to express to you our congratulations for your piety and devoutness, pray the Almighty God to help you to complete your holy pilgrimage and return to your homes safely and in good health,

and to invoke upon you and all your countrymen the abundant blessing of the Holy Grotto, Golgotha, the Holy Sepulchre, and all the other Sacred Shrines.

May the Grace of God be always with all of you. Amen.

The clergy and lay pilgrims were then presented individually, and each received a photograph of the Patriarch and a souvenir album, and when all had been presented, a special honour was reserved for Fr. Humphreys (our oldest pilgrim, and this is his third pilgrimage), who, representing the Church of Wales, handed to the Patriarch a letter of cordial respect and greeting from the Archbishop of the Province. Fr. Kyriakos made the introductions, and looked after us generally.

Shortly after this reception the Patriarch conferred the ancient order of Knight Commander of the Holy Sepulchre, with certificate and insignia, on the Reverend Arnold Pinchard, Secretary General of the English Church Union, in token of appreciation for his labours on behalf of Reunion, and the President of the pilgrimage handed the decoration to Fr. Pinchard and congratulated him, in the presence of the pilgrims, on the same evening.

From time to time one of the St. George's clergy came to dine with us and discuss matters with the Committee, and we owe a debt of gratitude to Fr. Steer and Fr. Bridgeman for the help they rendered us on many occasions. We were all sorry that Dr. Danby was on furlough, and I know that he regretted having to leave Jerusalem before the arrival of the pilgrimage.

Sir Ronald Storrs gave us great assistance. He had been absent from Jerusalem during our first few days in the city, but on the day of his return he dined with us and afterwards gave a very interesting lecture on the Pro-Jerusalem Society and the work it had done during the past six years of its existence—I can remember its opening day and the speech that G. K. Chesterton made on that occasion—undoubtedly the Society had been the salvation of the ancient city from the vandalism of those who wish to modernize it. No vulgar advertising sign posts are allowed to appear in the fields of any part of the country. *O si sic omnes!*

Some of the pilgrims who are taking the shortened tour left Jerusalem to-day for Galilee and Nazareth in charge of Mr. Pickering and Canon Steele, Vicar of the Church of the Ascension, Victoria Docks, and others, under the guidance of the Archbishop of Jordan, went to Jericho, Jordan and the Dead Sea. The Archbishop is indefatigable in his care and attention towards us, and nothing is too much trouble to him. He took a company of pilgrims to the valley of the Cedron, and showed us many things we had not noticed before, explaining them in his own charming manner. Needless to say, the pilgrims were delighted.

On two evenings different groups of pilgrims made the devotional

walk from the Cenaculum to Gethsemane, accompanied by several of the St. George's clergy and laity. We met outside the traditional house of the Last Supper, where the Gospel story of the Institution was read and prayers were said. Then we descended Mount Ophal, while the pilgrims meditated or prayed silently. The experience was beautiful in its simplicity as in its silence. The night was perfect, still and warm, the whole landscape bathed in moonlight and even every stone was clearly outlined. After crossing the Brook Cedron we skirted the village of Siloé, where we could hear the Moslem inhabitants practising dances in preparation for their approaching festa, Nebi Musà, and so by " Absalom's tomb " along the valley of Jehoshaphat until we reached Gethsemane. Archbishop Anastassy had invited us to visit the upper part of the Garden, which belongs to the Russian Church, which is considerably more natural and picturesque and less superficial than the Franciscan enclosure. Here was read the Gospel story of the Agony, and the pilgrims knelt among the olive trees and pictured to themselves the scene of that awful night. It was a memorable evening—the walk, the silence, the Gospel story, the Garden by moonlight—and was to most of us one of the most impressive events of the pilgrimage.

Before leaving the Garden, the Russian priest who had accompanied us asked us to visit the Church of St. Mary Magdalene. Here lies buried the saintly Grand Duchess Elizabeth Theodorovna, granddaughter of Queen Victoria, who founded the Community of Mercy in Moscow. She was murdered by the Bolsheviks in Siberia, and during the " White Army " occupation her body was found and ultimately conveyed to Jerusalem " and laid to rest beneath the Church of St. Mary Magdalene on Mount Olivet, a church built by the Emperor Alexander III.," as Mme. Alexeieff tells us in a recent number of *The Christian East*. We prayed for the soul of this glorious martyr, then the Russian priest blessed us, and the pilgrims departed to their homes.

One glorious morning some of us paid a visit to Emmaus, " which was from Jerusalem about three score furlongs " (St. Luke xxiv., 13). There seems to be a great difference of opinion as regards the authenticity of this site. A Jewish historian says, " it is a place truly named Ammaus, distant some 60 stades from Jerusalem, evidently the Emmaus of the Gospel." However that may be, we motored some distance along the Jaffa road, and at a certain place, in full view of the village of Ain Karim, we had to take donkeys to accomplish the remaining 3½ miles through a beautiful and undulating country. This, according to tradition, was the country of St. Cleopas and of his son St. Simeon, who afterwards became the second Bishop of Jerusalem. The strongest support to this tradition lies in an ancient church, the ruins of which were discovered in 1870, probably of the Byzantine period. The present church, built on the traditional spot

of the meeting between Christ and the two disciples, dates from 1901, and is a truly magnificent romanesque edifice, but the old stones of the ancient church, kept in their places with much care, form its finest ornament. Close by is shown the site of the house of St.Cleopas, with its stout wall, which may still be seen rising above the ground.

The day before the pilgrimage finally broke up into two parties, a banquet was given under the auspices of Sir Henry Lunn, who was represented by Mr. H. R. Pickering, in the great hall of the New Grand Hotel. The invitations were, as on former occasions, sent out by Sir Ronald Storrs, who also most kindly made himself responsible for the somewhat difficult matter of precedence in seating. The President of the pilgrimage, the Bishop of Plymouth, took the chair, and was supported by the Governor of Jerusalem, Sir Ronald Storrs, the Archbishop of Askalon representing the Patriarch, Mgr. Tourain, the Armenian Patriarch, Ignatius Elias III., Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, the Russian Archbishop Anastassy, Bishop Antou, the Coptic Bishop Basilios, the Abyssinian Bishop, Archimandrite Kyriakos (Orthodox), Archimandrite Kyrillos (Armenian), the Revd. Charles Steer, representing the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, who to our regret had to go to Cairo, the Revd. C. Bridgeman, the American Chaplain, the Revd. Saleh Saba, pastor of St. Paul's Arab Church, the Revd. J. E. Hanauer and the Revd. M. L. Maxwell, of Christ Church. The pilgrims were represented by the Revds. Arnold Pinchard, A. E. Cornibeer, H. Mather, W. H. S. Tayler, and G. Napier Whittingham, Sir Hubert Miller, Bart., Major Baillie Hamilton, and Mr. H. R. Pickering. The *menu* card, which was drawn up by Mr. D. N. Tadros, who in these matters relieves a somewhat overworked Secretary from all embarassing details, describes the dinner as " given by Sir Henry Lunn, M.D., J.P., in honour of the President and the Committee, together with their friends, in the Holy Land," a dainty and suggestive legend. Below follows a double *menu*, one *gras* for the pilgrims, the other *maigre* for their friends, for according to Eastern reckoning we are in Greater Lent. Many were the speeches in different languages, and many the toasts given—a most enjoyable and useful evening from every point of view.

The next morning what was known as " A " party, some 68 in number, departed to Jaffa on their return journey to England under the care of the Revd. Arnold Pinchard and Mr. H. R. Pickering. It was a very happy thought, conceived by our President, to give these pilgrims a good send-off. Accompanied by the Secretary, he drove ahead some three miles along the Jaffa road, and there, close to a stone quarry, awaited their coming. It had been kept a secret, and great was their surprise when they found themselves held up, but not by brigands but by a Bishop. When all had dismounted and were comfortably settled in the quarry, we sang " How sweet the Name of Jesus sounds," with its glad refrain, the Secretary said a

few words, and the Bishop gave his farewell blessing, a stay of not more than five minutes, which as some of the pilgrims remarked just made all the difference. The rest of the pilgrims remained two days longer in Jerusalem, a very happy time for most of them, with complete freedom to visit and revisit favourite spots: some went in the early morning to watch the sun rise over the Hills of Moab, by the Dead Sea: other adventurous spirits motored to Transjordania, and had a most enjoyable time, and some of us spent the days in farewell visits and interviews with leading ecclesiastics. One must not forget the kindly hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Tadros, who invited several of us to spend our last evening at their very charming villa, a *beau geste* greatly appreciated.

On our last morning I said the first Mass in the Chapel of St. Abraham, and was served by Mr. Beale, of the Air Force, who was already known to several of the pilgrims, and spent his furlough with us in Jerusalem: and afterwards some of us paid a farewell visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. We kissed the Holy Tomb and prayed on Calvary, and in those quiet moments were able to sum up all the blessings received during this wonderful pilgrimage.

The Archimandrite Kyriakos, on behalf of the Patriarch, comes to bid us farewell, Archbishop Anastassy sends an offering of home-made cake and a great jar of honey, several other of our friends are anxious for a last word. The pilgrims lead the way, the Bishop and Committee follow behind in the last cars. We bid a final adieu to the Holy City from the top of Mount Scopus—and depart along that glorious route to Nazareth which I have described often before. We stop at Jacob's Well, where we hope that some day the Anglican Church may rise to the occasion and, as a splendid gesture, complete the noble structure begun some years before the war and never finished. How one would love to see a magnificent church built over that holy spot where our Lord once had converse with the Samaritan woman! And so between Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim to Nablus, where in the spacious and cool dining room of the Hotel Palestine we found lunch awaiting us, and where the pilgrims could rest during the great heat.

Shortly after our arrival at Nazareth we paid a visit to Mgr. Cleopas, its Metropolitan, who was overjoyed to greet us again, and was delighted that we were going to spend the week-end in that lovely city. At once he insisted that we should take advantage of his private Chapel at the Metropolite for our Masses, that we should take a prominent part in the Palm Sunday procession—for the next day was Orthodox Palm Sunday—and that we should use the terrace of the Greek Convent for our Masses at Tiberias, and that he would go to Galilee with us to make the necessary arrangements. He had not forgotten the question put to him by a member of the Committee last year as to whether dragons could still be seen on the banks of

the Jordan, and asked for the name and address of his questioner, so that he might write him full proofs.

Next morning at an early hour the pilgrims went to Mass at the C.M.S. Church, which is served by an Arab Pastor; the Bishop celebrated, and most of the pilgrims made their Communions. Later we went to the Greek Church of the Annunciation in full robes, the Bishop vested in cope and mitre. The Mass had already begun as we processed through the Ikonastasis into the Church, where seats were arranged for us in a circle round the Metropolitan's throne, the Bishop being given a throne to himself. The little church was thronged by a homely crowd, who all seemed so enthusiastic that they could not keep still for a moment, especially the children; it was so evidently their Father's house. While the Epistle was being sung the Deacon came to me and asked if one of our priests would read the Gospel in English after it had been sung in Greek; I told him to ask the President, who was then within the Ikonastasis. At the given moment the Bishop of Plymouth came to the entrance, and there read the Gospel for the feast of St. Mark in English, it being that Saint's day according to Western Kalendar. At the conclusion of the Mass a monster procession was formed, in which our Bishop walked with the Metropolitan, the former in cope and mitre, the latter wearing his crown, all the priests wearing their cassock, gown, and cap, following behind, and the lay pilgrims and countless Nazarenes walking, running, and cheering after them. It was a wonderful sight, and one which will be remembered in Nazareth for many a year, and will not be forgotten by our pilgrims. Thrice we perambulated the church, and then, the others dispersing, Mgr. Cleopas invited us into the Chapel of the Annunciation, in which is situated the Virgin's Spring. Many prayers were said in Greek and English, and then each pilgrim knelt and drank from the well, on the traditional spot where Gabriel appeared to Mary. Then the Metropolitan spoke to us words of welcome in Greek, of which the following is a literal translation, done into English by one of his priests :—

" Ladies and Gentlemen,—I warmly welcome you and do thank the Almighty God for this great privilege of meeting you in this holy town—Nazareth—even in this most ancient Christian historical holy place.

" In this memorable moment you are standing in that holy place, which tradition as well as history testify to the fact that in this very place the Archangel Gabriel appeared to the Virgin Mary, and announced to her in a miraculous way that she was to become the Mother of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Hence this church has ever been known as the Church of the Annunciation, and from this very town Christianity sprang and spread over the world.

" From the earliest centuries of Christianity, a large Cathedral

was built on this very place, but owing to the successive conquests in Palestine and the severe persecution of Christians, that famous Cathedral was destroyed, and only this small church remains standing on this sacred spot.

" Beneath this church runs the only spring known as St. Mary's Well, from which the old as well as the present inhabitants of Nazareth drank and still drink. These are the old stairs on which the Nazarenes used to descend, on their way down, to fill their jars with the fresh water of this spring, and these are the other stairs which they used to ascend, on their way up.

" Now, picture to yourselves, for a moment, the Holy Virgin coming to draw water from this very place, with a water jar on her head, and catching her little baby, Jesus, by the hand, and coming down these stairs. Then picture again how often that little boy Jesus, playing with other little boys, his neighbours and friends, would come to this very place to drink, worn out with play and sweating all over, just as you see little boys nowadays still do.

" Kings and princes, generals and prominent men, rich and poor, have visited this holy place and drunk from this spring. Now if Nazareth can well boast of being the source from which Christianity sprang and spread all over the world, then this spring can also well. claim a very great honour with regard to its connection with the life of our Saviour.

" No doubt you have read and heard of the holiness of this place which you have now seen and heard a short history thereof. Therefore, let us bow with reverence and pray to the Almighty God to grant peace and salvation to all the world, pray for yourselves and for those who are dear to you, for his Majesty our great King George the Fifth, for the Royal Family, for the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and for the Church in general, that the time may soon come when all will be true worshippers of the real God and His Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, through the influence of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

✢ CLEOPAS,
Metropolitan of Nazareth."

Then we adjourned to the Metropolite for refreshment, and complimentary speeches were made by Anglican and Orthodox.

The same afternoon several of us made the ascent of Tabor, the Mount of Transfiguration. The road has now been completed, and one can drive to the summit. It is somewhat dangerous, and needs a careful and skilful driver. We visited the Greek church, which, according to tradition, marks the scene of the Transfiguration, and here we were greeted by a priest also named Constantine; afterwards we inspected the Franciscan church. Throughout this archdiocese Latins and Orthodox seem to be on very friendly terms with each

other—a delightful change from the atmosphere of Jerusalem; this is undoubtedly due to the benign influence of the Metropolitan. The interior of the Franciscan church is magnificent, one of the finest modern basilicas I have yet seen.

" Tabor rises up to heaven like an altar that the Creator built to himself," says Guérin most truly, for the majestic dome soars quite suddenly up above the adjoining valley and is some 2,550 feet above the Lake of Galilee. Its shape is graceful, its site most picturesque, its vegetation fertile, while the panorama is altogether splendid; indeed, it stands out among all the mountains of Palestine The summit forms a vast tableland nearly a quarter of a mile in length. The natives call Mount Tabor *Jebel et Tour*, which means *mountain par excellence*, or holy mountain. The peaceful situation and the charm of its holy atmosphere made it difficult to tear ourselves away.

Later in the evening we went on the terrace of the hotel, with candles to light us, and the Bishop conducted a short service, which included " Magnificat," " Ave Maris Stella," and the " Angelus."

The next morning Fr. Mather and I arrived at the Metropolite shortly before 5 a.m., just as Mgr. Cleopas was descending the iron staircase to open the Chapel for us. He conducted us behind the Ikonastasis, and there made us robe, and saw to it that we lacked nothing. One of his priests stood by the Altar while I said Mass, and the Metropolitan was, with another priest, in the Chapel. So the Masses went on one after another until 7 a.m., and Mgr. Cleopas, as our kindly host, remained throughout, either within or without the Chapel.

At 9 a.m., by which time the sun was high in the heavens and the heat already great, we called for the Metropolitan and with him drove to Cana of Galilee, or *Kefr Kenna*, as it is called by the natives, where we had a great reception from the clergy and some faithful laity; prayers were said in the Orthodox church, and our Bishop asked to give the blessing. After this (a delightful gesture) the Metropolitan took us to the Latin church, where he was treated with much respect by the Austrian friar, who showed us the objects of interest.

Then through the valley of Zabulon, where the pilgrims of the Middle Ages placed the Field of Wheat through which our Saviour passed on the Sabbath Day, when his Disciples, being hungry, plucked the ears of corn, past the Horns of Hatten (Quorum Hattèn), the last stand of the Crusaders, and so through the plain of Sharon of Galilee down the steep hill that takes us to the modern town of Tiberias. Mgr. Cleopas insisted on our going direct to the Greek convent, which comprises a small picturesque chapel in a crypt and lodgings for the twenty Greek families that live in Tiberias, and a great terrace right on the Lake, with a splendid panorama. In a

corner of this terrace there is a summer-house built of dried palms, and here the Metropolitan suggested that we should say our Masses, quite an ideal spot, with nothing between it and the Lake. The local priest, Arcadios, was summoned and asked to prepare the chapel for use on the following morning. Mgr. Cleopas lunched with the pilgrims; we drank his health and thanked him for all his kindness and courtesy, and he, in his turn, made a charming little speech in French, expressing his pleasure at being able to do something practical for the cause of Reunion.

Afterwards we had a long talk about many things. He was most anxious that the Archbishop of Nubia should be elected Patriarch of Alexandria, chiefly because he was a good man, a great friend to England, and enthusiastic in the cause of Reunion. He did not think that we in England quite realized what a tower of strength it would be to us were Nicholas of Nubia elected. For himself he felt assured that this would be the case. Cleopas was on the list of candidates for this Patriarchate, but withdrew his name of his own volition.

Possibly he will be appointed Archbishop of Sinai, as he is a learned man, and the monks are anxious to have him for their head. If this becomes a *fait accompli* it will be a very great loss to Nazareth, and future pilgrims will miss him, as he is undoubtedly one of the most charming and courteous prelates we have met. He is a great scholar and has visited for research work most of the famous libraries and museums in Europe, but he has never visited England. On the question of Latin propaganda he was very definite, and as a matter of fact I found throughout Palestine that this question was engaging Orthodox attention very closely. In Jerusalem I was told by a Latin priest that one of the objects of the visit of the Apostolic Vicar was to form a closer *liaison* between the Uniats and the Roman Catholics, and a Greek Archbishop informed me that it was quite likely that in the event of the resignation of the Latin Patriarch a Greek Uniat would be appointed in his place as a means of undermining the Orthodox Church and of obtaining a large number of adherents to the Papacy. Cleopas, more in sorrow than in anger, told me that Latin propaganda was very rife in all parts of the country, and that this propaganda was amongst the Orthodox and other members of the Eastern Church, for the work of the Latins among the Moslems and Jews had but little result. Many were the questions I was asked about the attitude of Anglo-Catholics to the Papacy and Reunion with Rome. The unfortunate statement made by an Oxford divine and published in a recent tractate has found its way to Palestine. Assurance was given that only a negligible minority of Anglicans imagined that Reunion with Rome was of greater importance than Reunion with the Orthodox Church, and it was pointed out that one of the chief objects of the Pilgrimage Association was to do all in our power to bring about unity between the Anglican

and Eastern Orthodox Churches. The Metropolitan of Nazareth, in expressing his enthusiasm for such reunion, added that such unity would probably effect the reunion of the Armenian and other Eastern religions with the Church of Constantinople, which would mean the strengthening of the power of all the Churches concerned.

Next morning at a quarter to five Fr. Cornibeer and I escorted many pilgrims to the Greek convent, where at the place before mentioned I said the first Mass, and he served me. It was a glorious experience! The priest Pascal had arranged everything for us, and was present throughout the Mass. The Altar was just above the lake, and faced the mountains of Gadara, and just as the offertory was reached the sun appeared above the hills. It was altogether beautiful. Outside our little palm-roofed chapel several Greek women were watching the service. On the other side we could see people leaning out of their windows and straining their eyes to see what was going on; one of the Greek women, obviously with the approval of her priest, made her communion, and all were most reverent. Fr. Cornibeer's Mass followed at 5.30 a.m., and the Bishop said Mass at 6 a.m., and all the while, besides our own pilgrims, who were deeply impressed, the little group of Eastern women knelt or stood with great devotion, realizing perhaps for the first time that the English were neither heathen or schismatic. All the priests who celebrated said a votive Mass of St. Andrew, and what could have been more appropriate? The last Mass was at 7 a.m., by which time the sun was hovering over the lake, and those in our little chapel were feeling its effect. A collection was made at each Mass, and the proceeds given to our good friend Fr. Arcadios.

Such was the intensity of the heat wave that we did not stir from our hotel, " The Tiberias " (and by far the best in Palestine, which, perhaps, may not be saying very much) until the late afternoon, when we paid our visit to Capernaum, known to the natives as *Tel Houm*, where our Lord took up His abode after leaving Nazareth, and which became the centre of His Messianic work. We were received by the same Franciscan brother in charge of the excavations who has welcomed our pilgrims year by year. Great advance had been made in the work of excavation since our last visit, the four Corinthian columns are now in position, a great number of fresh portions of pillars, etc., have been discovered, and the plan of the whole synagogue, the gift of the Centurion to the Jewish nation, is now fairly clear. The Franciscan brother told us that in all probability the re-setting of the whole building would be *in situ* within the next two years.

Tiberias itself is anything but impressive; it is an ugly, noisy modern town with a large Jewish population, a smaller Moslem, and only a handful of Christians. Practically no attempt is being made here for the conversion of the Jews and the heathen. The Bishop of

Nassau, President of the first pilgrimage, was most anxious to develop a scheme by which an English religious order placed under the ægis of the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem should form a settlement in this district, the nuns of Horbury have been praying in this wise ever since; the Bishop of Plymouth, our latest President, is equally enthusiastic. Bethsaida, the "House of Fishers," which our Lord so frequently visited, and which was the native place of Andrew, of Peter, and of Philip, is obviously the place. A hostel for English pilgrims, an Anglican community, might indeed make all the difference, and be a veritable centre of good and useful work. Perhaps some wealthy Anglicans will give this suggestion due consideration, and I am sure that the Anglican authorities in Jerusalem would not oppose such a scheme. It is a perfect site, close to the Lake of such holy memories, and near to the "desert place" where Jesus fed miraculously the "five thousand."

In the very early hours of the following morning, and in the presence of many pilgrims, Fr. Mather said Mass on the hillside above the Lake, "Clear silver water in a cup of gold," overlooking the hovels of *El Mejdel*, more commonly known as Magdala, once the home of Mary Magdalene.

It is our last day in Palestine, and we are now at Haifa, a town that would be devoid of interest were it not for Mount Carmel and the ancient city of Acre (Akka). Here we spent less than twenty-four hours, and there was much to be done. Our first business was to call on the Reverend Yacob Khadder, Chaplain of the English Church, which is under the care of the Jerusalem and East Mission Fund. He lives in a beautiful little house with a charming garden packed with flowers. He took me to visit Mr. Sheoghi Rabani, the leader of the Bahai sect, who recently succeeded his grandfather in this position, Sir Abdul Baha Abbas. "Bahaism," working for world-wide spiritual and social reconstruction, irrespective of caste and creed, was an outcome of Babism, which took its name from a Persian youth named the Bab, which means a gateway. The latter was martyred in 1850 by the Moslems in Persia after six years of missionary work. Like his grandfather, Sheoghi Rabani is held in the highest reverence and respect by the inhabitants of Haifa and Akka, irrespective of creed. He lives in a pleasant villa in the Persian colony on the slopes of Mount Carmel. He was very friendly, but not in a happy mood, for he had just received a cable that thirteen of his followers had been murdered in Persia by fanatical Moslems. He is a cultured man and speaks English perfectly, having resided for some years at Oxford and in London. He told me that the foundation of the movement was "Tolerance"; this is their main inspiration, which probably accounts for the hatred of the Persian Moslems, who look upon the preaching of tolerance as the worst of all heresies. At the same time he is on friendly terms with the

Moslems of Haifa. Many Bahai pilgrims visit him, and several hostels have been built in the colony to house them.

While the pilgrims were exploring Mount Carmel in all its glory, the Committee accompanied the President and drove to the ancient fortified city of Acre—St. John of Acre it should rightly be called—the one-time stronghold of the Crusaders, which ever since its existence has been in every battle save only the last great war. We passed through palm groves along the sands, where all kinds of shells are to be found, including the spiny shells of the fish from which the Phœnicians in olden times obtained the Tyrian purple; thence across the ancient river Kishon into the city. On entering the town through the ancient gate one steps at once into mediæval history; the streets are narrow even for an eastern city, and at every turning one comes upon something fresh and thrilling. It is indeed one of the quaintest and most interesting little cities in the civilized world, a real bit of ancient East. We visited the site of that important church of the Crusaders, St. John, where, alas, to-day stands a great Mosque. But our objective was His Grace, Keladion, Metropolitan of Ptolemais (Acre's ancient title), in whose diocese we now found ourselves, and to whom we had been given an introduction by Cleopas. Mgr. Keladion is a handsome man, and very charming and courteous in manner. Fr. Khadder came with us and acted as interpreter. He was keenly interested in the question of Reunion and asked many questions about the Church of England and her faith; he also wished to know our attitude towards the Orthodox, and I think we satisfied him. We adjourned to his church, where, after a few prayers, he blessed us, and then we drove back to Haifa, to call on the Governor and to visit the small British cemetery and pray for the souls of our brave men who fell in Palestine.

Before leaving Haifa on the following morning, Solemn Mass was sung with full ceremonial at the English church. Fr. Cornibeer was celebrant, Fr. Mather served, and Sir Hubert Miller was thurifer, the Bishop presiding in cope and mitre. Besides our own pilgrims, several members of the English community attended, including nurses from the British hospital and girls from the local High School, many of whom were delighted with the rendering of the pilgrims' hymn, "He who would a pilgrim be." The collection was made on behalf of Fr. Khadder's work. It was a delightful service and a fitting finale to our glorious adventure in the Holy Land. Fr. Khadder, like all the other Anglican clergy whom it was our good fortune to meet, was most helpful to the pilgrims, and his kindly courtesy, and that of Mrs. Khadder, helped to make our little visit to the borders of Syria a really happy one.

Thanks to the efficiency of Mr. D. N. Tadros, the pilgrims were able to board the good ship *Sphinx* by 9 a.m. and to sail on their homeward way in due course.

" Honour to whom honour is due " is an apostolic injunction. In the first instance the pilgrims owe a debt of gratitude for the great interest that Sir Henry Lunn evinced in this third pilgrimage, making every arrangement possible for our comfort before he departed on his world tour. To Mr. Brian Lunn, who " carried on " after his father's departure ; to Mr. Pickering for his unfailing courtesy and efficiency ; to Mr. Tadros, without whose help in Palestine we should indeed be at a loss, and also to M. Dionis du Séjour, of the *Messageries Maritimes*, who once again did all in his power to make the pilgrimage successful.

Once again we are on board the *Sphinx*, and this time without our good friend Captain Piétri. However, we found our new Commandant, M. le Mens, very charming, and anxious to do everything for us in his power, and he and the Commissaire hastened to make arrangements for the reverent saying of Mass, placing a room at our disposal. Day by day the Holy Sacrifice was offered as before, and in the late afternoon Evensong was sung on the poop. On the Sunday Mass was solemnly sung at 8 a.m. with full ceremonial. The great salon had been arranged for the purpose under the instructions of the Commissaire, French and British flags decorated the Altar, and palms were placed on either side. The Bishop pontificated in cope and mitre, with Fr. Usher in attendance as Chaplain, Fr. Whittingham sang the Mass, and was served by Fr. Mather, and Fr. Cornibeer acted as Master of Ceremonies, and Sir Hubert Miller, with Mr. John Street to assist him, was thurifer. The Commandant and Commissaire were given seats of honour near the Bishop. There were many present besides the pilgrims, both English and French, and the pilgrim choir under the direction of Fr. Tayler rendered the simple music of the Mass and several well-known hymns delightfully.

There was also a small number of Venezuelan pilgrims on board with three of their priests, and their Mass followed almost immediately after ours. An official notice was put up announcing " 8 *a.m. Messe chantée Anglo-Catholique ; 8¾ Rite Catholique Romaine.*"

On this Sunday the Bishop preached an excellent sermon at evensong on St. Athanasius, whose feast we were observing, and many of the Archæological Society, who had lately been in Palestine and were now travelling home with us, were present besides the pilgrims. Four of them very kindly gave us " talks " in the evenings, namely, Professors Garstein, Sayce, Sarolea, and Dr. Masterman, our President's brother.

On the day before we arrived at Marseilles a general Communion was held ; the Bishop celebrated, and all the pilgrims made their Communions. Next day found us once again at Marseilles and, thanks to the representative of the *Messageries Maritimes*, who met us on arrival, to Sir Henry Lunn's representatives, who met us at Paris, Calais and Dover, we had a pleasant and comfortable journey home, in spite of the general strike and the wintry weather.

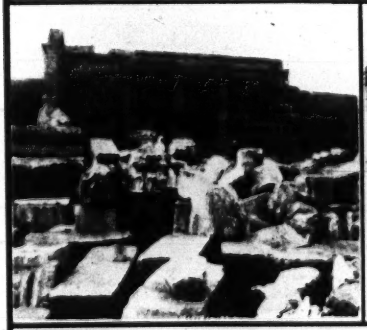
The pilgrims were a united, congenial, and happy body, and the Secretary has already been the recipient of many delightful letters full of gratitude for the benefits received and for the fullness of their joy at being permitted to visit and pray at the Holy sites. Generous, too, were they in their gifts. One presented fair linen cloths for the Altars at St. George's Cathedral, another made a substantial offering to the Russian nuns at Ain Karim: one evening at dinner in Jerusalem a collection was made for the upkeep of the Holy Places in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which with the collections in the Chapel of St. Abraham (for the same object) amounted to over £40; this was handed over to the Orthodox Secretary before leaving the Holy City; many donations, large and small, have been received for distribution, and when other promised sums come in, we shall be enabled to send cheques to all those whom we have been privileged to assist before. The gifts will not be on such a large scale as those of 1924 and 1925, as on this occasion our numbers were considerably reduced.

We hope in time that all who have been on these pilgrimages will join the Pilgrimage Association; many 1926 pilgrims have already done so. This Association was formed to encourage English people to visit the Holy Land, it organizes lectures with or without lantern slides, and it forms a bond of union and fellowship between all our pilgrims. In time we hope it may also be able to send a few persons, especially priests and ordinands, to the Holy Land; already it encourages the faithful laity to save a sufficient sum of money to pay the expenses of one of their parish clergy.

An adventure like the pilgrimage just accomplished, lasting a month, during which time pilgrims must have seen more places and taken part in more interesting and history-making events than they have ever done before, must have left many impressions which should be worth recording and passing on to those less fortunate than themselves. Therefore we trust that pilgrims will give lectures, addresses, sermons and informal talks wherever and whenever they find opportunity, and thus spread the good news. The Secretary is always pleased to give information about the Pilgrimage Association, and lantern slides and names of lecturers can be obtained from Miss Clarke at Westminster House, Great Smith Street, S.W.1. A reunion of members is held yearly during the autumn, of which due notice is sent to members of the Association.

Then we would suggest that, to further their practical interest in the Orthodox Church and their knowledge of all that concerns the churches in Jerusalem, pilgrims should subscribe regularly to *The Christian East* and also to *Bible Lands*, the latter being obtainable at 12, Warwick Square, S.W.1.

Every pilgrim loves Bethany and its memories, that little white village nestling on the slopes of Olivet, amidst its palms and olives,



Women at Nazareth. Pilgrims arriving at Bethlehem.
Evensong on the Sphinx. The Pilgrimage Secretary.
Capernaum: synagogue rebuilding. Group of pilgrims.

THESE PHOTOGRAPHS WERE TAKEN BY PILGRIMS, TO WHOM WE TENDER OUR THANKS.

its gardens and its ruined houses, the place of quiet retreat for our Lord during the last days of His life on earth. He bade farewell at Bethany, and with Bethany will be for ever associated the romantic story of the Magdalen. Tradition tells how Lazarus, Mary and Martha and others of His Disciples, saturated with divine knowledge received from His lips, went forth to spread that knowledge with an enthusiasm that carried all before it.

In a little back street in Marseilles stands an ancient church, built, it is said, over the cave-tomb of Lazarus. In that church is to be seen a statue of him whom Christ raised from the dead, holding a crosier in his left hand and his right hand uplifted in blessing; on either side are images of Mary Magdalene and Martha. He is still spoken of as being the first Bishop of Marseilles, his festival is yearly observed on the first day of September, and on the pedestal of the statue can be read this legend :—

Divo Lazaro
A Christo Suscitato.

Thus, when the pilgrims reached Marseilles after a long and pleasant voyage from Palestine, some of them entered this little church, and, mindful of the memories of the village of Bethany, knelt for a while and offered their vows of thanksgiving. Presently the parish priest approached and told them the history of the church and the story of Lazarus. When he knew that they were pilgrims from the Holy Land his joy was great.

Thus one more pilgrimage has been accomplished in a truly humble and devotional spirit, as Sir Walter Raleigh thus describes those of olden days :

" Give me my scallop shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to walk upon,
My scrip of joy, immortal diet,
My bottle of salvation,
My gown of glory (hope's true gage),
And then I'll take my pilgrimage."

RESERVATION IN THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH.

By Canon J. A. Douglas, Ph.D.

To state that a resort to the Reserved Sacrament for the purpose of Adoration or of intimate Prayer is unknown among the Eastern Orthodoxy is correct. But, often though it has been stated, to state that such a resort is condemned *per se* by Eastern-Orthodox doctrine and practice has no warranty whatever.

That, from the Orthodox point of view, such Devotions before the Blessed Sacrament as Benediction or Visits to the Tabernacle are an innovation is perfectly true. But to write them down as, from the Orthodox point of view, an illegitimate innovation is a very different thing. In my own judgment, if and when Terms of Intercommunion come to be agreed between the Orthodox Churches and the Anglican Churches, whether or no such practices obtain vogue among the former, their existing vogue in the latter will not be alleged as an impediment by the Orthodox. In writing this, I should safeguard myself very explicitly against being construed as judging that the attitude of the Orthodox in the matter should form an argument in favour of the spread of such practices among ourselves, or of their express authorization in a revised Prayer Book, but desire simply to point out that the absence of such practices among them cannot rightly be utilized as an argument against our adopting them. Individual Orthodox theologians may dislike them and even condemn them. But I submit that that condemnation is motived by another consideration than that of the legitimacy of their development. When in the eleventh century the Patriarch Cerularios scheduled several scores of innovations which had differentiated the Latin Church from the Greek Church, he was motived to declare them heretical, less for themselves than because they had been made by the Roman Papacy, which had advanced the claim that *proprio motu* it had power to supersede Œcumenical Canons and Œcumenical Customs. Thus, whatever fog of controversy has since veiled the essential issue, if most Orthodox theologians agree that the famous *Filioque* in itself is very susceptible of Orthodox interpretation,[1] none the less, one and all, they still contend that its insertion in the Œcumenical Creed which had been stereotyped by Œcumenical decision as the only Creed of the Œcumenical Church, was an act of schism, that in itself was the natural fruit of the heresy which had arrogated to the Papacy power and authority to supersede the incontrovertible decisions of the whole Church as delivered in the

[1] *E.g.*, see Puller, *Continuity of the English Church*, x–xii, and *passim*.

decrees of the first four Œcumenical Councils. This is not the place to discuss the validity of the Papal claims, and I refer to them only because their secular rejection by the Orthodox and the tragic happenings and disasters which on account of that rejection the Orthodox world has experienced, have created an atmosphere in which it has become almost instinctive that Orthodox theologians should regard every particular Western development, however legitimate and natural a growth in itself, as to be suspected *prima facie* of being the product of the " Papal Heresy."

Judged apart from that prejudice, I should contend that the cult of the Reserved Sacrament is exactly what is covered by the well-known formula of the Patriarch Photios, which is received as authoritative throughout the Orthodox Church.[1] " (In cases) where the thing disregarded is not the Faith and is no falling away from any general and Catholic decree, different rites and customs being observed among different people, a man who knows how to judge rightly would decide that neither do those who observe them act wrongly, nor do those who receive them break the law."[2] That is to say, for the Orthodox there must be no " addition, diminution or alteration "—the formula is stereotyped—in regard to the Faith of the Church of the first eight centuries, *i.e.*, the Faith as set forth in the teaching of the Fathers and as defined by the decrees of the Seven Œcumenical Councils. Nor may there be any trenching upon the Canons of those Councils, or for that matter upon any Œcumenical custom. But outside those limits, local developments of practice are right and proper. Accordingly, since the *cultus* of the Reserved Sacrament is in no way either inconsistent with the ancient doctrine of the Blessed Sacrament as interpreted by the Orthodox, or in conflict with any Œcumenical Canon or Custom, I should anticipate that on viewing it dispassionately, Orthodox theologians would find no bar to Intercommunion with us in its existence among us, but would declare the practices in question to be a matter on which they were indifferent.

I.

THE ORTHODOX DOCTRINE OF A REAL CHANGE IN THE ELEMENTS.

I ground this anticipation upon the fact that, while in that it does not adopt scholastic definitions of the manner of the change in the Eucharistic species, the Orthodox doctrine of *Metousiosis* does differ from that particular doctrine of Transubstantiation which it is admitted was intended to be condemned in our 28th Article, it does

[1] Quoted as final, *e.g.*, in *The Answer of the Great Church of Constantinople*, 1895.
[2] Epistle III, 6.

not differ appreciably from it as to the effect of the change effected in the Eucharistic bread and wine by consecration.

Metousiosis is, no doubt, strictly to be rendered *Transessentiation* rather than *Transubstantiation*, and, for that reason, especially in Russia, care is often taken to repudiate the latter term.[1] But Transubstantiation is frequently used as its synonym. And that the Orthodox Church holds that at the Consecration the Bread and Wine are factually changed into the Body and Blood of Christ is indisputable.[2]

Passages to that effect can be quoted indefinitely from synodical decrees, from catechisms, and from authoritative writers.[3]

Three illustrations will be sufficient here.[4]

(i) Metrophanes Kritopoulos, Patriarch of Alexandria, 1630–1640, the disciple of Cyril Lucar, who lived in England and carried on the tradition of the approach to Anglicanism of Lucar's predecessor, Meletios I., writes in his *Confession*, itself a polemic alike against the Latin Church and German Protestantism and reckoned a Symbolic book by the Orthodox . . . . "The Consecrated Bread is truly (the) Body of Christ, and that which is in the cup (the) Blood of Christ without doubt. But the method of such change is unknowable and not to be interpreted by us. For clear vision in such matters has been dispensed to the elect in the Kingdom of Heaven, in order that through single and incurious Faith they may obtain greater grace from God."[5]

(ii) His contemporary, Peter Mogila, Metropolitan of Kiev, 1632–45, who contended against a vigorous Uniat campaign and in a less degree against German proselytization, but had his eye rather on local than general conditions, writes in his *Confession*, which is also taken as a Symbolic Book :[6] "In the Moments of Consecration of the Holy Gifts, the Priest must firmly and undoubtingly resolve within himself that the Substance of the Bread and the Substance of the Wine are changed into the very Substance of the very Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, by the operation or working of the Holy Ghost, whose Power and Influence let the Priest invoke in these Words, in order to the due Performance of this Mystery: O Lord, send down from Heaven Thy Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these Gifts now lying before Thee; and make this Bread the precious Body of Thy Christ, and that which is in this Cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ, changing them by Thy Holy Spirit. At these Words

[1] *Birkbeck and the Russian Church*, p. 246. S.P.C.K. 1917; and *W. J. Birkbeck's Life and Letters*, pp. 22, 271. Longmans. 1922.

[2] See *Androutsos, Dogmatike*, pp. 348–9; *Dyovouniotes, Ta Hepta Mysteria*, pp. 87–92, Athens, 1923; and *cp.* Gavin, *Greek Orthodox Thought*, pp. 328–336, Mowbrays 1923, who, however, does not refer to the distinction made in Russia between *metousiosis* and *transubstantiation*.

[3] See my *Relations of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern Orthodox*, Appendix I, pp. 141–7, for a specimen catena.

[4] Reference to the Synod of Bethlehem is made on the next page.

[5] Mesoloras, *Symbolic Books*, p. 137, Athens, 1885. [6] IV, pp. 1, 107, in the same.

there is wrought the Change in the Elements, and the very Bread becomes the very Body of Christ, and the Wine His very Blood; the species only remaining, which are perceived by the Sight. . . . This Holy Mystery is also offered as a Sacrifice for all Orthodox Christians as well living as those who sleep . . . and this Sacrifice shall never fail, nor be discontinued, even unto the End of the World."[1]

(iii) The Longer Russian Catechism, drawn up in 1823 by the famous Philaret of Moscow, says: "The Communion is a Sacrament, in which the believer, under the forms of bread and wine, partakes of the very Body and Blood of Christ, to everlasting life.

"The most essential part of the Liturgy is the utterance of the words which Jesus Christ spake in instituting the Sacrament: 'Take, eat, this is my Body.'

"At the moment of this act, the bread and wine are changed, or transubstantiated,[2] into the very Body of Christ, and into the very Blood of Christ.

"In the exposition of the Faith by the Eastern Patriarchs it is said that the word 'transubstantiation' is not to be taken to define the manner in which the bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of the Lord; for this none can understand but God; but only this much is signified, that the bread, truly, really and substantially becomes the very true Body of the Lord, and the wine the very Blood of the Lord."

II.

LATRIA TO CHRIST IN THE BLESSED SACRAMENT JUSTIFIED BY AUTHORITATIVE ORTHODOX DOCUMENTS.

Latria, i.e., the worship due to be rendered only to the Divinity, is very expressly prescribed in many authoritative documents as to be rendered to Christ present in the Blessed Sacrament. Thus, taking two easily accessible to the ordinary reader:

(*a*) The *Confession* of Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, appended to the Acts of the Synod of Bethlehem (sometimes called the Council of Jerusalem), held under him in 1672, in which representatives of all the Orthodox Churches except the Russian,[3] took part, lays it down . . . . "That under every part or smallest bit of the Bread and Wine there is not a part of the Lord's Body . . . but the entire

[1] *The Longer Russian Catechism*, pp. 90-2.

[2] Wherever transubstantiation, etc., occurs in these extracts the original is Metousiosis, etc. We have Mogila's *Confession* only in Greek, the Slav original having been lost. Presuschestvlenie is the Russian equivalent of Metousiosis, and careful theologians prefer to use it instead of transubstantiation.

[3] Quoted in my *Relations*, p. 146, from Trans. in Williams' *Orthodox and Non-Jurors*, Rivington, 1868.

whole Lord Christ according to His substance; that is with the soul and divinity as He is perfect God and perfect Man. So that, though there be many Eucharists celebrated in the world at one and the same hour, there are not many Christs, or many bodies of Christ, but one and the same Christ is present in all and every Church of the Faithful and there is one Body and one Blood. Not that that Body of the Lord which is in Heaven descends upon the Altar; but because that Bread which is laid on the Altar, and there offered in every Church, is by Consecration changed and transubstantiated and made one and the same with that which is in Heaven . . . Also that the same Body and Blood of the Lord in the Sacrament is to be adored in the highest manner that may be and to be worshipped with Latria. For one and the same worship ought to be paid to the Holy Trinity and to the Body and Blood of the Lord. It is also a true and propitiatory Sacrifice which is offered for all the faithful, both living and dead, and for the benefit of all, as is expressed in the prayers of this Sacrament. . . . Also before the use, immediately after the Consecration, and likewise after the use, that which is kept in the Sacred Pixes for Communion of those that are dying, is the true Body of the Lord and not in any the least respect different from what it was; inasmuch as after Consecration before the use, in the use and after the use, it is in all respects the true Body of the Lord."

(*b*) The Œcumenical Patriarch, answering the *Lamers of the Greek Church in Britain*, in 1672, writes a Synodical Letter which informs them that: "Which Sacrament is and is called Latria; and therein the Deified Body of Christ our Saviour is worshipped with divine worship; and is offered up as a Sacrifice for all Orthodox Christians living and dead."[1]

III.

LATRIA TO CHRIST IN THE RESERVED SACRAMENT PRESCRIBED IN SLUJEBNIK.

Outward acts of Worship, or Latria, to the Reserved Sacrament are expressly enjoined in the *Slujebnik*, *i.e.*, the Slavonic Prayer Book, which is used in Russia and all Slav countries, and which, of course, possesses an authority practically past all question.[2]

Thus,

p. 520. The servers must walk with fear and trembling when near the Altar Throne (*sc.* the Holy Table), for on it are reposing the Divine Mysteries,[3] and passing by or approaching it they must make reverence.[4]

[1] See my *Relations*, p. 146.

[2] In all editions the pagination must be the same. S.P.C.K. has an edition printed for the Serbs in 1919. I give these quotations in this section rather than in the next section, so as to illustrate the latter.

[3] *Taini*, equals Sacraments, Greek, *mysteria*.

[4] *Blagolepnoe*, equals that which is comely, customary and appropriate.

P. 543. The Ark[1] (kibot) with the Divine Mysteries must always stand on the Throne and not in any other place.

P. 544. On opening the Ark with the Divine Mysteries, the priest must wash his hands, bare his head and make deep profound obeisance.[2]

P. 545. On drying the Reserved Sacrament the Priest must spread open the antimension,[3] place on it (the intinctured Lamb) cense it round about and then making comely obeisance cut it into small pieces with all possible devotion.[4]

P. 546. He places the Reserved Sacrament, when dry, in the Ark, makes a fitting[5] obeisance and folds up the antimension.

P. 547. (All the ministers must) make an obeisance to the Divine Mysteries such as fits their sanctity.

P. 549. (The communicant) must prostrate[6] himself to the ground once before the Christ who is present in the Mysteries under the form of Bread and Wine.

P. 550. On entering the holy temple of God the clergy and laity must look towards the Holy Altar (ie. the Sanctuary, not the Holy Table) and must with awe make a fitting obeisance. . . . On entering the Altar (ie. the Sanctuary) the priest must first of all bare his head and make an obeisance. . . . On approaching the Holy Table he must make the deepest obeisance. . . . On leaving the Sanctuary the priest must first make a deep obeisance to the Divine Mysteries.

P. 552. Likewise, every time you pass the Royal Doors, make an obeisance; Further, having completed the service, . . . make obeisance devoutly to the Lord God, . . . for because of such obeisance to the Divine Mysteries you will receive abundant Grace from Christ the Lord. . . . The servers must needs enter the Holy Sanctuary with the greatest awe, trembling devotion and reverences and so perform their appointed task, because Christ is present there upon His Altar Throne. On entering and on leaving they must make deep obeisance.

P. 532. Because of the honour due to the Divine Mysteries none of the laity may enter the Sanctuary.

P. 533. Not only the clergy and servers, but all devout lay people, whether in church or in the street, on seeing the Divine Mysteries carried to the sick must reverence them with an obeisance of divine worship.[7]

[1] Kibot, i.e., Ark. Dorotheus-reliquium, gift-holder, is the more usual term for a Tabernacle.

[2] Proskunein (i.e., an outward act of reverence such as bowing and kneeling) and se below.

[3] See note, p. 85.

[4] *Hagiasmata.* [5] *Entrekhōs* or equals "appropriate." [6] *Prokunein epi gēs*, lit., bow to the ground.

[7] *Hagiasteion*, technically equal to "of Latria."

IV.

THE RENDERING LATRIA TO CHRIST PRESENT IN THE RESERVED SACRAMENT NORMAL AMONG THE ORTHODOX TO-DAY.

Many Anglican visitors have concluded that acts of *Latria* to Christ present in the Reserved Sacrament are unknown among the Orthodox. That quite erroneous impression is due to many causes. Thus for us the custom of full genuflection whenever we take cognisance of being in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament and of taking cognisance of that presence whenever we come into the sight or move in sight of the ornament where it is reserved, has become a custom so practically obligatory and instinctive that its absence is startling. The Orthodox have no such custom. Normally their acts of Latria in the presence of the Sacrament are rendered by prostration. Moreover, as, though aware that the Sacrament is reserved in a church by which we pass or in a chapel within a church in which we are, we take no cognisance of the fact; so, generally, the Orthodox do not take cognisance of the presence of the Reserved Sacrament unless the Tabernacle is opened. And further, not only have the causes which during the Middle Ages gave free play to the Eucharistic *cultus* in the West been absent in the Near East, and not only have the prejudices of the Schism kept the Orthodox always disinclined to assimilation to the Latin Church, but any such parallel development among the Orthodox was effectively prevented by helotage to Islam. As is well known, the Turkish and Arab peasantry is superstitious enough and has always reverenced, and resorted blindly to, Christian thaumaturgic shrines and objects of devotion. But to Moslems the Divinity of Christ is anathema and the attraction of their attention to the fact that Latria is paid to Him in the Reserved Sacrament would have invited their fanaticism to profane the Churches and the Tabernacle in which it was reserved. In consequence, throughout the Turkish dominions Latria to Christ in the Reserved Sacrament could not be obtrusive and became repressed. Therein lies one of the principal explanations of the seeming irreverence with which the unlettered laity—and clergy—in parts of the Balkans will actually handle the Tabernacle[1] and sometimes even its contents. The traditional mind of the Orthodox Church, as evinced not only in the lands and countries where it has recovered freedom or has always been unaffected by Moslem oppression, but even in those areas where

[1] In 1923, during a conversation with Professors Dyovouniotes and Alivisatos in Athens, I ventured to point out that we Anglicans are inclined to complain of such lack of outward reverence, and gave a striking instance which I had observed in Old Serbia. Both assured me that it was altogether to be repudiated on all Orthodox principle and tradition and was explicable only by the clergy and laity of such areas being *amathoi* and by their having been for centuries in the condition of *rayah* to the Turk.

it is most depressed, is very different and is expressed in the Orthodox method of Reservation and in their behaviour when the Reserved Sacrament is moved or approached with cognisance.

(*a*) *The Orthodox Method of Reservation.*[1] Except for the purpose of the Liturgy of the Presanctified, which, according to Canon 42 of the sixth Œcumenical Council, 680 A.D., is prescribed as to be celebrated on all weekdays in Lent except Saturdays and the Annunciation, the Blessed Sacrament is reserved once only in the year, namely on Maundy Thursday. At the Liturgy, which on that day is of St. Basil, the Lambs[2] are cut from one or more extra loaves, consecrated as usual, and intinged each with a few drops of the Precious Blood poured on it from a spoon. These are placed in the Small Artophorion[3] which is placed in the Great Artophorion.

On Easter Monday or Tuesday,[4] he comes alone except, if one be available, for a deacon, into the Sanctuary, spreads the *antiminsion*[5] on the Holy Table, places on it the *diskos* (paten), censes the Holy Table, opens the Great Artophorion with due prostrations,[6] which are repeated through the ceremony, takes from it the Small Artophorion, places it on the *antiminsion*, takes from it the Lamb, separates the Lamb with the spear[7] into small particles, dries[8] them and replaces them in the Small Artophorion and it in the Great Artophorion which he locks.

During this process, and in ministering the Reserved Sacrament, he wears the Epitrachelion (stole) over his ordinary dress, but has his head uncovered.

[1] These descriptions should be read in connection with the preceeding section.

[2] The central square of the small cottage loaf, of pure unleavened bread, of varying size, but now usually 3–3½ inches diameter, which is used by the Orthodox. It is cut out at the Prothesis with the "spear," a knife, placed in the *diskos* (paten), brought to the Holy Table at the Great Entry, and is alone consecrated.

[3] The Blessed Sacrament is reserved by the Orthodox in a small plain box of metal, which is known as *mikron artophorion* (Slav., kovtchev) to distinguish it from the Great (*mega*) Artophorion. The latter is a cupboard of metal or wood and stands on the East side of the Holy Table, on the North of the centre. In Constantinople the older artophoria are frequently of gilt wood, about 6–8 inches square, with four columns, surmounted with a perfect semi-dome, provided with folding doors, lock and key, and covered with a glass shade. The more modern are of metal. A good specimen is to be seen at St. Sophia, Moscow Road, W.1. In Slav countries and Roumania they are much wider and usually have three domes. The symbolism is that of the Grave of Christ and the Shrine of the Anastasis. At the Phanar itself, on account of the smallness of the Altar, and in some other places on account of the damp or for like reasons, a large round pyx hanging behind the Holy Table, is used, but the innovation dates only from modern times. In comparatively recent years in places, *e.g.*, at St. Sophia, Bayswater, cupboards affixed to the East wall have been introduced as artophoria, but in the latter case, the *mega artophorion* still remains on the Holy Table. When visiting the Phanar in 1925, one of my companions asked the Metropolitan of Sardis, who, with bare head and after many prostrations, opened the hanging pyx to show us the *mikron artophorion*, why a lamp burnt in front of it. His answer was, 'Because Christ is present in the Holy Sacrament, and is to be adored therein.'

[4] In some lands, *e.g.*, in Russia, immediately after the Liturgy on Maundy Thursday. [5] The Orthodox *corporas*, of silk or linen, always embroidered with the Entombment and with relics sewn into it. [6] Which are repeated on occasion and throughout the ceremony. [7] The knife always used to cut up the Eucharistic bread before or after consecration. [8] In Constantinople in the sun. In damp and cold countries, as in Russia, over one or more clean hot bricks placed on the right corner of the Holy Table, and with charcoal to keep them warm.

At least one taper must be alight.

In the case of necessity the Sacrament is reserved after any Liturgy.[1]

(*b*) *The Liturgy of the Presanctified and Communion of the Sick.* (i) The Liturgy of the Presanctified[2] was an ancient practice in the seventh century before the Sixth Œcumenical Council, its present form being attributed by the Orthodox, probably without ground, to Gregory, the Great, "the Dialogist." *Mutatis mutandis*, in its structure it resembles the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, the essential difference being that at the Great Entrance, the Reserved Sacrament,[3] which has been previously taken from the Mega Artophorion with great ceremony and placed upon the *antiminsion*, is carried into the nave and through the Holy Doors. Allowing for the contrasts between East and West, noted above, from the time of the opening of the Artophorion until the Ablutions, the Latria rendered to Christ, present in the Mysteries, is comparable to that rendered, *e.g.*, by Latins at Benediction. Repeated prostrations are made before It. It is preceded by a lighted taper and so forth. In short, the study of the Liturgy of the Presanctified leaves no doubt but that it is replete with acts of Latria to Christ in the Reserved Sacrament. Thus the hymn which at the Great Entrance replaces the Cherubic Hymn of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom is: "Now the Powers of Heaven with us invisibly worship; behold, the King of Glory enters in. Through the prayers of our Holy Fathers, have mercy upon us, O Lord Jesus Christ our God. Amen. Behold the mystic and perfect sacrifice here escorted; let us draw near with faith and longing, that we may become partakers of life everlasting. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia."

(ii) *Communion of the Sick.* When the sick are to be communicated, the priest, wearing his epitrachelion and with uncovered head, takes the Reserved Sacrament after prostration from the Great Artophorion and, if the distance and circumstance of the place permit,[4] preceded by torches, goes to the house of the recipient. As he passes, every devout Christian uncovers and kneels. Much the same practices are described by mediæval writers, *e.g.*, by Simeon, Metropolitan of Salonika[5], thirteenth century.

[1] As has been said, the method of Reservation varies in details in different countries. For Russia the treatment of the Reserved Sacrament was ordered minutely, as above in III, in 1667, by the Council of Moscow, Act XI, which further enjoined that the priest must inspect the Reserved Sacrament every third day to avoid the possibility of mould, on the detection of the least sign of which he must dry the species again, or, if needs be, consume them at his next Liturgy and reserve afresh.

[2] An excellent translation is to be had of Williams and Norgate, 1918. [3] The Liturgy is celebrated with a Lamb specially consecrated on the preceding Sunday and not from that consecrated on Maundy Thursday. Laity as well as Clergy communicate. It is not dried, but is simply reserved in the Artophorion. It is intinged with the Precious Blood, of course.

[4] In Constantinople and the Balkans even under the Turks. [5] Ed. Goar, *passim*, pp. 161–194.

The Reserved Sacrament, having been intinged in unconsecrated wine and hot water, is ministered with a spoon.

There is no special Orthodox Office for the Communion of the Sick. Portions of the Liturgy or other prayers are recited at the priest's discretion.

Especially in larger centres the custom has obtained of late years that those who cannot fast long, or are precluded by reason judged adequate by the priest, from communicating during the Liturgy, should do so before its commencement. They receive the Sacrament reserved on Maundy Thursday. Where there are many communicants, some are communicated after the close of the Liturgy, but with the elements consecrated therein.

(iii) *Conclusion.* While the evidence quoted above establishes, I think, the postulate that by tradition and by direct precept the Orthodox Church requires the rendering Latria to Christ present in the Blessed Sacrament, it may be urged that that requirement does not imply the sanction of resort to the Blessed Sacrament for adoration or for prayer.

That counter-contention has validity in that such resort is an innovation upon the established practice of the first nine centuries,[1] but if the Orthodox Church condemn it, that condemnation must be for its own people and not because it is wrong *per se*, but because it is undesirable, or it must be motived by the old suspicion of everything "latinising." The Orthodox cannot condemn it on the ground that it is an innovation which involves a heresy from the doctrine of the Church of the Fathers and the Seven Œcumenical Councils.

It is true, indeed, that, to the Orthodox, the predominant thought in regard to the Blessed Sacrament is that It is the true Body and Blood of Christ and that as such It is to be received for the salvation and sanctification of the soul, and is to be offered as the Unbloody Sacrifice in propitiation for the living and the dead. The aspect in which It presents itself to us, that thereby and therein the living Christ is really present in the fullness of His Glorified Humanity and of His Divinity, and that to come into Its presence is to come into His presence, may be unfamiliar to them. But it is difficult to see how they can dispute its legitimacy or the inference that it is not for them to play the part of those who would not suffer children to come to the Christ and to forbid those among us who desire access to the Blessed Sacrament in order to worship Him or to make our petitions to Him.

In the *Preaching of the Orthodox Catholic Faith*, issued with the *imprimatur* of the Holy Synod of the Russian Church in 1900, it is laid down that, "Of obligation the devotion[2] which should be

[1] The Western custom of reserving the Blessed Sacrament for adoration and prayer dates at earliest from the eleventh century, see, *e.g.*, article on the Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament in the Catholic *Encyclopædia*.

[2] *Tchest.*

rendered to those awful Mysteries is the same as is rendered to the very Christ. Just as St. Peter, speaking for himself and with the mouth of all the Apostles, exclaimed, ' Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God,' so each of us ought to say in adoration to the Holy Mysteries, ' I believe, Lord, and confess that Thou art the very Christ, the Son of the Living God, who didst come into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.' "[1]

In face of that identification, I submit that it is hard to see how the Orthodox could require the prohibition of the customs in question by the Anglican Church as a condition of Intercommunion. But that submission must be taken to involve neither the contention that they should approve them as desirable or adopt them, nor the contention that Anglicans should do so. It amounts simply to the anticipation that the Orthodox would declare them to be a matter which they could treat as indifferent.

[1] *Pravoslavnoe Ispovedanie Katholetcheskoe*, Moscow, 1900, p. 71. See also the passage from Dositheos quoted above in I.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH UNION.

Hon. President: The VISCOUNT HALIFAX.
President: The EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, K.P.

THE UNION OF CLERGY AND LAITY was founded in 1859. Its Objects are: (1) To defend and maintain unbroken the Doctrine, Discipline, and position of the Church of England as an integral part of the whole Catholic Church of Christ; (2) To promote study and research, and the dissemination of information in all matters affecting the Faith, Worship, and Discipline of the Church; (3) To defend, protect, and support, by all lawful means, any clergyman assailed for maintaining the Faith as taught by the Church; and (4) To support all its members who, by or through godly discipline, may be subjected to unjust persecution or molestation, or who may be in need of counsel or assistance.

Communicants of the Church of England should apply to the Secretary for forms and conditions of Membership.

Subscription:

Honorary Ordinary, 10s. per annum; Associate (ordinary), 5s. 6d. per annum.

Every Catholic Priest of long standing should belong to the Union, and acquaint with, but (if ready to serve, all other Catholic Priests; and all Individual needs to the best of his power.

The Union is prepared to face the present and succession of the present and future Secretaries Schools. It is organised on a Diocesan basis, in order to deal with pressing needs in each diocese with efficiency, and to organise the Catholic vote in diocesan elections for the Commons and the Church Assembly.

Consideration of issues such as questions are the most urgent need at Collection to-day: for this and membership in the Union presents the most favourable opportunity and the best means.

ARNOLD PINCHARD, Secretary.
St. Simons Square, W.C.

Read THE CHURCH UNION GAZETTE (The Organ of the Union)
Post free, 1/6 per annum.

PERIODICALS RECEIVED.

'Εκκλησιαστική 'Αλήθεια. The Finance, Constantinople. Suppressed.
Χριστιανικὴ Ἀθῆνα. Athens.
Ἑλληνικὸν. The Patriarchate, Alexandria.
Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος. The Patriarchate, Alexandria.
Ἡ Ἐκκλ. The Patriarchate, Jerusalem.
Ἐκκλ. Ὀδὸς Τριγωνικὴ 179, Athens.
Ἀνάπλασις. 38, Stadium Street, Athens.
Τηλέγραφος Ρουμανικὸς. The Russian Synod, Karlowics.
Ἀνδρούτσου Βασιλείου. The Archiepiscopal Offices, Leukosia, Cyprus
Θεολογία. c/o the Metropolitan of Athens.
Glasnik. 4, Mihajlovitch, Belgrad, Serbia.
Narodna, Christianskaya, Zayed, Nitza.
Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθ. 140, East Seventy-second Street, New York.
Κὼν Παράδ. Theological College, Halki, Constantinople. Suppressed.
Οἱ Ἐρεῖς Τριγωνικὴ. Ὀδὸς Μαυρίου 6, Athens.
Narodni Sbory. Sophia, Bulgaria.
Bohoslovie. Bukharest, Roumania.
Biserica Ortodoxa Romana. Bukharest.
The Living Church. Milwaukee, U.S.A.
The Sun Sentinel. New York.
The Islamic Review. The Mosque, Woking.
The Moslem World. 156, Fifth Avenue, New York city, U.S.A.
L'Europe Orientale. Via Nazionale 8a, Rome.
The Antidote. New York.
The Harvard Theological Review. Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

NOTICE.—All letters and periodicals for the editors should be addressed to the Rev. J. A. Douglas, Editor of the CHURCHMAN EAST, 11, Commercial Road, Peckham, S.E.15. All enquiries and subscriptions should be sent to the Secretary the Rev. R. M. French, 54, Richmond Road, E.W.5.

Eastern Church Books.

THE RELATIONS OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCHES WITH THE EASTERN ORTHODOX. By the Rev. J. A. Douglas, B.D. 304 pp. Price 12s. Popular edition, 3/6.

"Those who wish to know about the Eastern Church and Mr. Douglas' account of it have come to the good people."—*The Archbishop of Canterbury in Convocation.* Feb. 28th, 1919.

A DICTIONARY OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH. By Dr. F. Ll. Langford-James. Price 7/6.

WHO'S WHO IN THE EARLY CHURCH. By Rev. W. G. Peercy. 7s. 6d.

LINKS IN THE CHAIN OF RUSSIAN CHURCH HISTORY. By Dr. W. H. Frere, Bishop of Truro. Price 7/6. Popular edition, 3/6.

THE REDEMPTION OF ST. SOPHIA. By the Rev. J. A. Douglas, B.D. Introduction by Bishop Gore. Fourth Edition. Price 2s. 6d. paper; cloth, 3s.

"The author evidently."—*Athenæum.* "We cannot too warmly commend."—*Church Times.*

THE CHURCH AND FAITH OF ARMENIA. By Dr. Abel Abrahamian, Armenian Vartaped in London. Price 2s. 6d. paper; cloth, 3s.

"All interested in the Armenian Question should read this."—*Methodist Times.*

ASSYRIAN CHURCH CUSTOMS AND THE MURDER OF MAR SHIMUN. By Lady Surma d'Bait Mar Shimun. Introduction by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Glossary by Dr. Wigram. Price 2s. 6d. paper.

THE BAQUBAH REFUGEE CAMP. By Brigadier-General E. H. Austen. Paper, 2s. 6d.

THE SPIRITUAL REBIRTH OF EUROPE. By Bishop Nicholai Velimirovic. 2s. 6d. paper.

CYPRIOTE SHRINES. By Commander Luke. 2s. 6d. paper.

PICTURES OF RUSSIAN WORSHIP. By the Rev. J. A. Douglas, B.D. 1s. 6d.

DEATH'S RIDE IN ANATOLIA AND ASIA MINOR. By the Rev. J. A. Douglas, B.D. 6d.

SKETCHES OF EASTERN CHURCH LIFE. By Sophronius Kephala. Introduction by the Bishop of London. Paper, 2s. 6d.; cloth, 3s.

THE ENGLISH AND ARMENIAN CHURCHES. By Harold Buxton. 6d.

INTERCOMMUNION WITH THE ASSYRIAN CHURCH. By the Rev. Dr. W. A. Wigram. 6d.

THE DIVINE LITURGY OF ST. CHRYSOSTOM. Translated by the Rev. F. E. Brightman, M.A., from the Greek and collated with the Slavonic. 2s. 6d.

THE SEPARATION OF THE MONOPHYSITES. By the Rev. Dr. W. A. Wigram. 7s. 6d.

THE ALL-NIGHT VIGIL OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH. Translation edited by the Revs. B. Theodorov, B.D., and V. Tchetchetov. 2s.

FAITH PRESS, Ltd., 58, Buckingham St., Charing Cross, W.C.2.

MACRAY BRO., PRINTERS, GRANTHAM.